Mr. Truman Steps Aside—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

April 5, 1952

Joe McCarthy in Wisconsin

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

—and at Princeton

BY KARL E. MEYER

*

Impressions of New China

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

VOTE YOUR CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT!

See Page 314

APR 3 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Goulding Case

PAUL W. GOULDING, for ten years a member of the faculty of Nazareth (Pennsylvania) Area High School, recently submitted his resignation to the school committee rather than sign the loyalty oath passed last year by the state legislature.

Mr. Goulding is a Quaker, is married, and has three children. Fortunately, he will still be able to provide for his family, for he has been offered a position at the Abington Friends School near Philadelphia. But he will sacrifice a thousand dollars a year in income. He chooses to pay that price rather than conform to a law which he says carries the "superficial and unreal implication that we have only to close our minds to communism in order to save America."

Mr. Goulding taught seniors at Nazareth in a course called "Problems in Democracy" which cut across many fields of thought in the social sciences. His methods were much admired by his colleagues. He turned his class into something like a forum in order to elicit student opinion of all shades.

Before deciding to give up his post at Nazareth, Goulding carefully weighed many factors, not the least of which were economic. In a statement to the press he said: "Frankly, I don't know whether I would have had the courage to refuse to sign the oath if I had not had another position open to me." His opportunities were narrowly limited by his act, for he could hardly find employment in the public schools of any state, whether or not it requires an oath of loyalty of public servants.

The Pennsylvania oath requires all persons in state- or local-government employ to pledge allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States and Pennsylvania and to swear that they are not, and during the period of their employment with state or local government will not become, members of any organization advocating overthrow of the government by force or other unconstitutional means.

What were Mr. Goulding's reasons for refusing to sign this oath? He has answered that question for us:

> I think that each one of us must follow his own conscience. Mine was not a snap decision. I have followed this trend toward regimentation, and I am unable to continue to conform to this kind of pressure in public schools.
>
> That the actual words of the Pennsylvania loyalty oath are relatively innocuous is a tribute to the resistance by a free people and their representatives against coercive forces that would cast our very thoughts in a mold of conformity, mechanization, and violence. In spirit, however, the oath is one of several instruments by which we are being "persuaded" that totalitarian regimentation must be met by totalitarian, one hundred per cent Americanism. In a day when the impulse to conform, to acquiesce, to go along is the instrument used in subjecting men to dictatorial rule throughout the world, nonconformity—with a religious motivation—becomes a means of preserving the dignity of mankind.

F. A. Marcks, superintendent of Nazareth schools, commented:

> This man is certainly no Communist or subversive. He may be over-sensitive. The law itself may be futile, but we have no choice in the matter. He must take the oath or leave his post. We are going through what might be called an epidemic of loyalty oaths, and in time we may recover a little more of our perspective. A Communist might well be expected to take such an oath without qualm. Mr. Goulding has indicated that he cannot conscientiously take the oath. His attitude is one of protest against what he calls regimentation by influences working together to deprive us of our freedom. His protest recalls the fable of the oak and the reed. The oak refused to bend before the prevailing wind and was broken. The reed bent and stayed. Of course, the attitude of bowing to the prevailing wind can be carried too far.

Marcks admits we have lost our perspective and thinks we may recover it in time. Mr. Goulding, having followed the trend toward regimentation in the public schools, doubts our chance of recovering it. At what point Marcks believes we might bow too far to the prevailing wind he does not say. Mr. Goulding makes his position clear by the very act of resigning.

The reactions of Nazareth residents to Mr. Goulding's refusal to take the oath showed a virtually unanimous belief in his sincerity of purpose and his courage; members of organizations instrumental in securing the loyalty legislation even revealed something approaching a sense of guilt. For them it was one thing to go on record as indorsing the Americanism represented by the statute; it was another thing when a quiet, respected school teacher suddenly terminated his relationship with the community because his conscience would not let him acquiesce in what they looked upon as a simple oath of loyalty.

The president of the Lions Club said Mr. Goulding had great courage, and he felt certain that "state and nation were behind him." Several people thought that if he "did it on account of his religion, it was all right." Surprisingly, the V. F. W. post commander said Mr. Goulding "had every right to refuse to sign the oath," and added that he "agreed in part" with the attitude of teachers toward the oath.

As a result of the pressure exerted by certain groups which have made themselves the custodians of American democracy, Paul W. Goulding must leave Nazareth. Once again, in a blind attempt to destroy something which it fears because it does not understand it, an American community has lost the services of a man of talent, sterling honesty, and great courage.

RICHARD STROTHER COOLEY

[*Mr. Cooley is a reporter for the Bethlehem (Pennsylvania)* Globe-Times.]

Introducing the Candidates

Beginning next week, *The Nation* will publish a series of political profiles of the men who have been mentioned prominently as Presidential candidates. The first will be of Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, by Alan Whitney, veteran Chicago journalist. Scheduled for the two following issues of *The Nation* will be a study of Justice William O. Douglas by Fred Rodell of the Yale University Law School, and one of Estes Kefauver by Charles Bartlett of the Washington Bureau of the Chattanooga, Tennessee, *Times*. Profiles of General Eisenhower, Senator Taft, Governor Warren, and others are now in preparation.

Get to know your next President through *The Nation!*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

SOMEWHERE ON THIS EARTH THERE IS A congenial home for the follower of every political philosophy save the anti-Nazi. He alone has become a kind of international outlaw, a pariah as unwelcome now on the other side of the Elbe as he has long been on this. So much emerges unmistakably from the Soviet proposal that "all former members of the German army, including officers and generals, and all former Nazis" should have the right to participate in the building of a united "democratic peace-loving Germany." The Russians propose further that Germany, having achieved democracy and a state of peace-lovingness with the aid of former S. S. *Brigadenführers* and general staff officers, be permitted to have its own "army, navy, and air forces." The moral obtuseness of these proposals are unfortunately paralleled in the West's answer. True, we did not bother to promise jobs to ex-Nazis, but that was because we have been giving them jobs for years—for example, see Mr. del Vayo's story on page 318. But we share with Russia a fervid desire to rearm the Germans, except naturally we want them to fight on our side. So we offer the Germans, instead of their old gray-green uniforms of unhappy memory, the more colorful garb of the European army—British cloth, perhaps, with a French cut to the jacket and more than a touch of American in the pockets. Both sides offer all-German elections, but only under conditions—again naturally—which would assure predetermined results. The exchange of notes are further moves in the courtship of a Fraülein whose "yes," *The Nation* is convinced, will make the successful suitor an even unhappier man than the rejected one.

✶

BY FILING AN ACTION FOR LIBEL, SENATOR McCarthy has upset our prediction of last week that he would not accept the challenge to test in court the truth of Senator Benton's charges against him. But Joe's latest move is probably not so much an act of brashness as one of desperation. In an election year he simply could not afford to ignore Benton's charges indefinitely. By filing the suit he obviously hopes to stall the investigation of the charges by the Senate subcommittee on elections and to create the impression that he is "fighting back." But the point to note is that McCarthy remains on the defensive. By forcing him to act Senator Benton has kept his charges current. He has insisted on an early trial and has driven McCarthy to say that he too wants an early trial. Thus it is clear that McCarthy has not only failed to regain the offensive but has been driven into a corner from which he is now trying to escape. He has simply underscored the weakness of his case by saying that Benton's charges would never have been made had it not been for his, McCarthy's, attacks on "Communists in government." If he has no better defense than this, he might as well drop the libel action now.

✶

JOE McCARTHY DISPLAYS A CURIOUS TALENT for getting hold of other people's mail. A University of Minnesota student wrote to Myles McMillan, political editor of the Madison *Captial Times,* asking him to suggest some questions to ask McCarthy when McCarthy spoke at the university on March 8. The speech was given, and at its conclusion, before any questions could be asked from the floor, McCarthy read aloud a garbled version of the student's letter. What's interesting is that McMillan *had never received the letter,* although the student swears that it was properly addressed, stamped, and posted. A week later McCarthy spoke before the Young Republicans of Dane County in Madison, Wisconsin; this time McMillan was in the audience. Again McCarthy, at the close of his speech, began to read the letter. Interrupting from the floor, McMillan explained that, although the letter was addressed to him, he had never received it; charged that McCarthy had read a garbled version of it the previous week; and demanded that the letter be shown to him as its legal owner. But McCarthy refused to yield the document; instead, turning to the audience, he said slyly that from time to time he "borrowed" material from *Time* and the files of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the implication being that he had "borrowed" McMillan's letter too. McMillan has entered a formal complaint with the postal authorities; "borrowing" other people's mail can be a criminal offense. Members of the Senate enjoy many privileges, including access to documents not normally available to the public. But when a Senator turns up in possession of a letter which the addressee swears he

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never received, some explanation is obviously in order. Perhaps the Senate subcommittee on elections will be able to induce McCarthy to explain this mystery when, if ever, it holds hearings on Senator Benton's resolution calling for his colleague's ouster. In the meantime, all critics of the gentleman from Wisconsin had better keep a sharp eye on their private mail.

*

FRANCO'S INTENTION TO BLACKMAIL THE United States into giving him the maximum number of dollars for the minimum amount of military help was confirmed by the aloof and almost indifferent attitude of the authorities when the new American ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, presented his credentials in Madrid. While the humorous Madrilenos were saying "this is not the Lincoln who liberated the slaves," the official reception was much cooler and less lavish than on the arrival of Stanton Griffis. "The general impression," wrote the New York *Times* correspondent, "is that of subtle snubbing of the United States." The snubbing was made even sharper by the absence of Foreign Minister Artajo, who, instead of remaining in Madrid to welcome the new ambassador and open the long-awaited negotiations with him and the American military mission, had departed on a much-publicized tour of the Arab countries. Franco's idea is to create the impression that he has the entire Arab world in his pocket and thus still further improve his bargaining position. The arrogant attitude of Madrid might well lead President Truman and the State Department to reconsider their policy toward Spain, especially since Admiral Fechteller declared in a Congressional hearing on March 27 that Spanish bases were not essential to this country's defense plans.

*

SERETSE KHAMA, SUSPENDED CHIEF OF THE Bamangwatos, largest tribe in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, is to be permanently barred from power. This decision of Lord Salisbury, Tory Secretary of Commonwealth Affairs, compounds the error of his Labor predecessor, who banished Seretse from the Bamangwato reserve for five years. It will be regarded by native Africans from the Gold Coast to the Cape as unwarranted interference in tribal affairs inspired by a desire to appease South African champions of white supremacy. Seretse's offense is marriage to a white woman. This, Lord Salisbury maintains, is a violation of tribal law that disqualifies him from the chieftainship. But as his junior in the House of Commons was forced to admit, the Bamangwato have accepted the marriage and in several tribal meetings have asked for Seretse's return. The fact is that it is not tribal law or custom that has been outraged but white taboos. In the Union of South Africa the fear of miscegenation is such that not

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only marriage but sexual relations between whites and Negroes are a crime for which both parties may be severely punished. Thus the British government is afraid to countenance the mixed marriage of a chief in territory bordering and economically dependent on South Africa, whose Nationalists have long claimed the right to rule Bechuanaland and two other native enclaves which remained subject to the British crown when South Africa became a dominion. Yet it ought to be clear by now that Britain cannot appease the Malan government of South Africa without alienating native opinion in other parts of the continent that are moving irresistibly toward self-government.

*

HENRY W. GRUNEWALD, "MYSTERY" FIGURE in the investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, becomes a little less mysterious with each new phase of the investigation. When it was revealed that Grunewald had made contributions to the Democratic National Committee, the Senate's Republican leaders clucked pious disapproval. But it now appears that Grunewald was on equally good terms with the high command of the Republican Party. Senator Owen Brewster used him as "a kind of conduit" to funnel contributions of $5,000 each to Senators Milton Young and Richard Nixon. He also admits having known Grunewald for "a good while"; in fact, Grunewald has called at his office as often as two or three times a month over a period of several years. The Republican leader of the Senate, Styles Bridges, also knew Grunewald well enough to intervene in a $7,000,000 tax case at his request. It should now be fairly clear that the "mystery" never really existed. For example, there is no mystery about the large sums which Grunewald listed in his tax return as "brokerage fees and commission" but which he now says were really winnings from gambling, "primarily on horses." Grunewald seems to have been the kind of gambler who bet on both political horses, the Democratic and the Republican.

The Wilson Fiasco

THE responsibility for a steel strike, if one occurs, will rest directly upon the President's ill-chosen, incompetent ex-mobilization director, Charles E. Wilson. Although officially withdrawn, Wilson's petulant criticisms of the Wage Stabilization Board's recommendations in the steel-wage dispute obviously stimulated the industry to resist the proposals and in effect invited the steel operators to force a strike to force the government into a stiff price increase. For this disservice to the country, among others, Wilson's resignation over the weekend was accepted at the White House.

Two issues were involved: (1) whether the Wage Board's steel proposals were in fact equitable and appropriate, and (2) whether Wilson, even if the proposals were faulty, had not shown himself, once too often, incapable of mastering the social and political overtones of economic mobilization in a democracy.

Nathan P. Feinsinger, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, truthfully said that the steel-wage proposals were reasonable. When price controls are shot through with loopholes deliberately created by Congress, wage stabilization cannot mean a wage freeze. The most liberal interpretation of W. S. B. regulations on cost-of-living wage adjustments would have given the steel workers substantially more than the 15-cents-an-hour basic increase the board recommended. W. S. B. procedures have always provided for correction of inequities. It was an inequity for steel workers not to have been paid holidays when other industrial workers had them, and six paid holidays a year was the principal "fringe" benefit allowed by the wage board.

The broader question was Wilson's bias and malevolent ignorance whenever he was forced to deal with a question involving labor. If he believed the wage proposals seriously threatened our economy he should have used a little tact and discrimination. He could have called in Philip Murray, president of the United Steelworkers. He could have tried to argue his case with Roger L. Putman, stabilization director, with Ellis Arnall, price director, and with Feinsinger.

Instead, Wilson ran up to New York to discuss matters with the masters of the steel industry, went to Key West to talk to Truman, returned to Washington to issue public denunciations of the proposed settlement. Having provoked the fiery retort from Murray that the unions would not cooperate with the Wage Board if Wilson could arbitrarily dismiss its findings as false and wicked, Wilson belatedly tried to climb off his high horse. By that time he was confronted not only with labor's boycott threat but with the possible resignation of the public members of the W. S. B., and of Putman and Arnall as well, none of whom were willing to be exposed to snap-judgment repudiations when they were working in good faith to get a practical answer to wage and price questions.

Of course, Wilson said, the W. S. B. is a "duly constituted" body with authority to handle wage questions; its proposals should naturally be considered the "basis" for settling the steel-wage dispute. But he made these admissions only after he was driven to them by the explosive reaction of Murray and the board's public members, only after he had given aid and comfort to the steel industry if it chose to resist the board's proposals, only after encouraging the anti-labor majority of the House Rules Committee to clamor for an "investigation" designed to assist the companies.

The question of prices is and always has been the major issue in the steel dispute. But the companies want more than a price rise: they want undiminished profits

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after taxes, and Wilson has encouraged them to demand just this kind of "relief" or to induce a strike by whittling down the wage-board proposals—after the union has four times voluntarily postponed its deadline to give the W. S. B. a chance to act.

The President's letter accepting Wilson's resignation gives the gist of the dispute in the following words: "As far as steel prices are concerned, it is true that I agreed to a 'possible necessity' of allowing some price increase. . . . Such a determination should obviously be made only after a thorough examination of the facts. For example, it seems to me to be quite material and important that the profits of the steel industry are continuing at extraordinarily high levels—that their profits amount to a good many times as much as any increased costs they would incur under the recommendations of the Wage Stabilization Board."

Mr. Truman Steps Aside

THE timing and occasion of the President's announcement that he is not a candidate surprised nearly everyone, but his withdrawal itself is no surprise. Mr. Truman has not been acting like a candidate for months. The most significant aspect of the announcement was the flat statement: "I shall not accept renomination." Clearly the President's decision is irreversible. He will not be drafted; he will not reconsider; he cannot undo what he has done. This means, of course, that the race for the Democratic nomination is now wide open.

The tardiness of the President's statement confronts liberal elements in the Democratic Party with a major crisis. In the first place, Mr. Truman has now lost, if he ever possessed, the power to name the candidate. It has never been easy for an incumbent—even a popular incumbent—to handpick his successor. Mr. Truman is not a popular incumbent and he has permitted the control of the delegations to get completely out of his hand.

Consider, for example, the chaotic political scene in California. After months of painful negotiation a unity slate was finally assembled. It must be assumed that Mr. Truman was informed of every detail of these negotiations and that he approved the plan of uniting the Roosevelt and Pauley elements—the left and the right—in a pro-Truman delegation. Yet in the wake of the Minnesota and New Hampshire primaries he suddenly insisted (March 19) that the delegation must disband. Now, with the deadline rapidly approaching, a single delegation has been entered, one pledged to Senator Kefauver. A politician of Mr. Truman's experience does not present an upstart rival with the California delegation unless he has some compelling reason. Either Mr. Truman was afraid that he might suffer a humiliating defeat in the California primary or the size of the write-in vote for Eisenhower in Minnesota convinced him that he should retire. Even before his announcement, therefore, he had lost the power to handpick his successor; now he probably could not even veto the nomination of a candidate of whom he disapproved. Thus those who think that it will be easy for Mr. Truman to hand the nomination to, say, Governor Stevenson, had better resurvey the situation.

Now that Mr. Truman has withdrawn, the pre-convention bargaining will really start. The outcome will be largely determined of course by the way in which each of the various groups making up the Democratic coalition appraises the relative strength of the other groups, alone and in combination. The Southern Bourbons are at the present time the best-organized; in fact, they hold the initiative. The Bourbons no longer have any reason to fear the Republican Party. Not one candidate for the Republican nomination even vaguely threatens "white supremacy." On the other hand, the power of the South in the Democratic Party has increased since 1948—witness the conciliatory attitude which Senators Douglas and Humphrey have lately shown on civil rights. To be sure, the Negro vote in the key states is as important as it was in 1948 but the bargaining position of the Negro has deteriorated. No one knew in 1948 how many Negroes might vote for Henry Wallace if the Democrats failed to adopt a militant civil-rights program. But the Negro vote is not likely to swing to Taft, and it is difficult to imagine Warren or Stassen or Eisenhower becoming passionate advocates of civil rights overnight. The Bourbons know exactly what they want—a "compromise" nominee for the Presidency who is "reasonable" about civil rights, the Vice-Presidency, restoration of the two-thirds' rule, protection of seniority in Congress, and more power for the South in the councils of the party. In a wide-open convention, the Bourbons can make deals right and left; their compactness will give them great bargaining strength. Right now the Bourbons are odds-on favorites to win a strategic victory in Chicago. Only some countervailing power can offset their tactical advantage. What the liberals need, above all, is a left wing within the party. Without a left flank of some kind they can exhort and argue but they are captives; they have no alternative.

Furthermore, the liberal elements of the Democratic coalition have been weakened by the witch hunt which has driven men like Frank Graham and Claude Pepper from elective office and chased most of the liberals from Washington. Immobilized, demoralized, disunited, they have lost the initiative. For years these elements relied on the magic of Roosevelt's name and his political skill; since his death they have coasted along with Truman—for the ride. Collectively they possess great power, but they lack the habit of united action. Each individual organization knows what it wants and will have spokesmen at Chicago to suggest excellent planks for the Dem-

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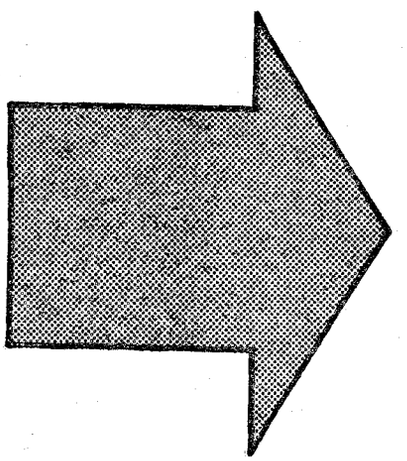
ocratic platform. But if the liberal elements of the old coalition cannot agree well in advance of the convention on a strong candidate, a platform, and a strategy, they are likely to be outmaneuvered by the Bourbons and their allies. The danger is not that the Bourbons will bolt but that they will win most of their objectives by astute bargaining.

The crisis faced by the liberal elements is enhanced by reason of the fact that General Eisenhower is precisely the kind of candidate who, if nominated by the Republicans, will draw votes from every element making up the old Roosevelt coalition. It will be relatively easy for Republican therapists to induce large sections of an anxious public to transfer their affection and loyalty for the Roosevelt father-image to the symbol of the friendly, frank, warm-hearted General. Unless prompt action is taken, moreover, there will be a strong tendency for certain elements of the old coalition, specifically in the labor movement, to climb aboard the Eisenhower bandwagon and to make deals while they can be made. If Eisenhower is nominated, he will not be defeated by a Democrat whose principal virtue is his general "acceptability" to all elements of the party. Only a candidate who offers a real alternative to the General's point of view and program is likely to defeat him.

In the wide-open fight that has now developed, the Democratic convention can easily be deadlocked. Kefauver, Russell, and Kerr will control important delegations, and much of the remaining strength will be parceled out to tenacious favorite-son candidates. With many explosive issues certain to arise—civil rights is one—the convention may have to look around for a dark horse candidate. While there are not many dark horses in the Democratic pasture these days, there are some that offer attractive possibilities from the point of view of the Bourbons and their allies—for example, a Paul Douglas-Richard Russell ticket.

Faced with this emergency, what should the liberal in the Democratic coalition do? Organized groups should, first of all, take polls to find out, if possible, the kind of candidate their members really want (see page 314 of this issue). Secondly, the leaders of these organizations should immediately get together for the purpose of working out a strategy and platform and agreeing, if possible, upon a candidate. If they do this, the liberal elements can have a decisive influence in the convention even if they control no delegations; for no Democratic nominee can hope to win without the support of such groups as the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Farmers' Union, the United Mine Workers, and the Railroad Brotherhoods. If the Democratic Party is not to fall apart at the seams, or to be taken over completely by a fusion of conservative Northerners and Southerners, the liberal wing must regain the initiative. The objective cannot be the selection of a "harmony" slate that will "hold the party together"; already this theme is being ballyhooed far and wide as the major task of the convention. The Bourbons are much too strong today, in alliance with other conservative elements in the party, to be held in line by a few minor concessions. Concessions and compromises will not hold the Democratic Party together; only a candidate and program that will capture the imagination of the people can serve the purpose. For this is 1952, and the world moves. The Democrats must not compromise with those "dinosaurs" of whom the President spoke; they must find a road to the future.

VOTE NOW FOR YOUR CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT



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Vote Your Choice for President

IN THE last few weeks *The Nation's* readers have been firing questions at us: What kind of President does the country need in this year of decision? Will the candidates chosen in the Chicago conventions truly reflect the people's wishes? Will liberals have any say in the matter? Can they even make known their preferences? How can we assure the selection of candidates who will offer the people a real choice?

To these readers—to *all* our readers—we say: who is *your* candidate? And to enable you to answer that question simply and directly, we have prepared the ballot printed below.

This is your opportunity to make your choice known. The American electoral process puts up many barriers between you and the chance to vote for the man you want: a tangle of conflicting state laws governing the selection of convention delegates; the power of political machines and pressure groups; the ability of the mass communications media to mold opinion.

The only way you can register your preference is through the informal poll. The remaining primaries, like many which have already taken place, offer but a limited range of choice. *Many states have no primaries at all.* We don't pretend that informal polls will be a decisive factor at the nominating conventions. But they can influence the platforms adopted and the candidates considered.

In any case, the people's preferences should be recorded. Fill out *and return immediately* the ballot below. Urge other readers to mail their ballots. You need not sign your name. Space is provided for a "write-in candidate in case your own preference is not on our list.

Nation readers form an important country-wide audience. If enough of you mark and return these ballots to give a good sampling, the results can have weight. The larger the return, the more interest and influence the poll will have. This is your chance to tell not merely us but the politicians and the country at large who you think should be the next President of the United States.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. All ballots must be mailed not later than April 25 and should be addressed to: POLL EDITOR, *THE NATION*, 20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK.

2. You may vote for your first *and* second choice irrespective of the column in which the names appear, but *only two choices* may be indicated. Use the figures *1* and *2* to indicate your first and second choice.

3. Knowing that every copy of *The Nation* is read by more than one reader, we have printed extra ballots, *one* of which we will send to any individual who requests it in writing before April 19.

YOUR BALLOT

The Nation's PREFERENTIAL BALLOT FOR PRESIDENT

to be mailed not later than April 25 to POLL EDITOR,
THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Vote for any two, indicating first and second choices:

DEMOCRATIC		REPUBLICAN	
William O. Douglas	☐	Dwight D. Eisenhower	☐
Estes Kefauver	☐	Douglas MacArthur	☐
Robert S. Kerr	☐	Harold E. Stassen	☐
Richard B. Russell	☐	Robert A. Taft	☐
Adlai E. Stevenson	☐	Earl Warren	☐
Alben W. Barkley	☐		

Write-ins_____

My state is_____

I am a Republican ☐ Democrat ☐ _____ (*Please Check*)
(any other)

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Joe McCarthy in Wisconsin

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

Madison, Wisconsin

WISCONSIN is taking seriously the accounting it must make to the nation this year for electing Joseph R. McCarthy to the United States Senate in 1946 and for giving the nation the ugly cult of McCarthyism.

Somewhat more than two years ago McCarthy began his rampage in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, in which he charged that he held in his hand the names of 205 Communists in the State Department who were working there with the knowledge of Secretary Acheson. Like the rest of the country, Wisconsin was stunned and puzzled by his reckless charges. Even the people who knew him best and had come to expect the worst were mystified. What was he up to now? they asked. They knew that he had been pretty thoroughly discredited in the state. A succession of revelations which broke after his election in 1946—including his failure to report $42,000 of his 1943 income to state tax authorities, a disbarment recommendation brought by the state Board of Bar Commissioners, and the finding of the Supreme Court that he had violated the Constitution, the laws, the legal code of ethics, and his oath as a judge and lawyer—added up to a record which seriously weakened his position at home.

In late 1949 and early 1950 Republican politicians casting about for a possible weak spot in the organization which they could take advantage of to satisfy their own ambitions looked hopefully toward 1952, when McCarthy would have to face reelection. They looked beyond 1950, when the state's senior Senator, Alexander Wiley, would be up for reelection. The situation was summed up by one prominent Republican with Senatorial ambitions in a remark to newsmen: "I think I could take Wiley, but I'll wait for the easy one in 1952."

In February, 1950, McCarthy opened his anti-Communist campaign. It caught the Republican leaders in Wisconsin by surprise, and for some time they maintained a discreet silence. Soon, however, it became obvious that McCarthy's gamble to rehabilitate his political prestige was working. In the atmosphere of suspicion and fear hanging over the country his campaign caught on and spread. Anti-communism was not a new issue to Wisconsin Republicans; they had been using it for years against the La Follettes and Roosevelt. But McCarthy had added a dash of reckless irresponsibility which made it look like a new formula for political dynamite.

WILLIAM T. EVJUE is the editor of the Madison Capital Times.

The inferiority complex of the national Democratic Administration helped to make the concoction even more formidable. There was obviously no disposition in either the executive branch or the Senate to clear the decks and take on this demagogue who was using his privileged position in the Senate to destroy reputations and damage national prestige abroad. I was in Washington in the summer of 1950 and was astounded at the terror a poolroom politician from my home state could instil in men holding responsible positions in the government. The President tried to ignore him. The State Department could do no more than act injured. Senators sat mute as he brought the tactics of the gutter brawler into the chamber and made a shambles of the Senate's dignity. He had only to speak, and the newspapers opened up their front pages and radio its air lanes.

The hate groups and the malcontents rallied to him without waiting to see whether he could get away with it. As soon as it became obvious that he could, the big and wise money went on his nose. When McCarthy returned to Wisconsin in the early summer of 1950 to address the state Republican convention the word had gone down: "This is our boy." In consequence he got a roaring welcome and an indorsement of his campaign without dissent.

As McCarthyism grew and spread throughout Wisconsin, I could recall only one thing similar to it in the history of the state. It had all the characteristics of the campaign of persecution carried on against citizens suspected of "pro-Germanism" when the hysteria of the First World War was at its height. In those days it was as dangerous to be suspected of "pro-Germanism" as it is today to be suspected of communism. I recall them vividly, having lived through them as a supporter of the elder Senator La Follette and having felt the sting of the advertising and circulation boycotts organized against the fledgling *Capital Times* in Madison by the souped-up patriots of that period. It is significant, incidentally, that McCarthy and his latter-day patriots have urged a boycott against the *Capital Times* because of its opposition to McCarthyism, the first publication in the country to be so distinguished.

In the days of "pro-Germanism" hysteria it was only necessary to start a rumor questioning the loyalty of a citizen and he would find his house or barn daubed with yellow paint. La Follette was the target of the same charges of disloyalty as are hurled at Acheson, Jessup, and Marshall today. But that hysteria spent itself against the fundamental good sense of the people. In

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1922 La Follette, the symbol which it had attacked, was reelected to the Senate by an unprecedented majority.

The difference between the two situations is of course great. La Follette used his position in the Senate to fight against the hysteria. McCarthy is using his to fan it into new fury and to exploit for his political advantage. There are signs, however, that McCarthyism is spending itself. For one thing, Washington shows a greater disposition to carry the fight to him. Senator Benton's resolution questioning his fitness to serve in the Senate could be a valuable offensive weapon against him if the rest of the Senate had the courage Benton displayed in introducing it. [See page 309 of this issue for editorial comment on McCarthy's libel suit against Benton.]

This advantage will probably be lost through the timidity of Senator Gillette, chairman of the Rules Committee, and the refusal of progressives like Douglas, Humphrey, O'Mahoney, Fulbright, and others to depart from the ridiculous patterns of conduct called "Senatorial courtesy." The President, who in the summer of 1950 seemed afraid even to recognize McCarthy's existence, has spoken out with more courage than most of the Senate liberals. But the Democratic National Committee, which has done nothing to justify its existence since McCarthyism became a part of the national vocabulary, is still in the storm cellar.

THERE are signs that the people here are catching up with McCarthy. He is running into the beginning of the "big doubt," which he exploited so shrewdly to defeat Tydings in Maryland. It is not a "big doubt" yet, but it is growing. It showed itself in the last session of the legislature when a young Republican Assemblyman introduced a resolution for an amendment to the legislative-immunity clause of the state constitution. The amendment was debated on a pro- and anti-McCarthy basis and was defeated by the Republicans, but it pulled six Republican votes in the Assembly and all the Democratic votes except one which has since turned Republican.

Unlike the 1950 Republican convention, the 1951 convention saw some determined delegates take the floor to speak against a resolution indorsing McCarthy. When they were booed down by the McCarthyites, Governor Walter Kohler denounced the un-American conduct of the McCarthy supporters. Kohler seemed to be preparing himself to lead the opposition to McCarthy. On his return from a European tour last fall he announced that he was contemplating running for the Senate. His statement gave great impetus to the efforts to retire McCarthy, particularly after subsequent polls indicated that he would win in a primary contest. Since then, however, Kohler, who is not a political leader of strong convictions, has collapsed under pressure from party bosses and announced that he will seek reelection as governor.

No formidable primary opponent against McCarthy is in sight, though speculation mentions the names of former Governor Oscar Rennebohm; Leonard Schmitt, a young Republican attorney who has been leading the fight against the present bosses of the party; and Delbert Kenny, a prominent Republican once indorsed by the party for governor but later double-crossed. The candidacy of state Senator Chester Dempsey, which was announced some time ago, is taken seriously by no one but Dempsey. One Democratic candidate, Henry Reuss of Milwaukee, has announced. He is conducting a vigorous campaign, but the party is not agreed that he is the strongest possible candidate, and there is still a chance that others may enter.

One thing that makes it difficult to gauge the sentiment about McCarthy is the prevailing atmosphere of hysteria and intimidation, which is not conducive to the free expression of opinion against him. The pro-McCarthy forces, on the other hand, with the Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, and knife-and-fork-club crowd offering ready-made forums, are very articulate. The anti-McCarthy people were recently given a demonstration of what they can expect when a group of Republicans, independents, and Democrats at Wisconsin Rapids sponsored a newspaper advertisement criticizing the Senator. A few days later McCarthy dived into his fox-hole of immunity in the Senate and charged that Philleo Nash, a Presidential aide and the brother of Jean Nash, one of the sponsors of the advertisement was a Communist. The Nash family are well-to-do, highly respectable cranberry farmers at Wisconsin Rapids.

The hysteria responsible for McCarthyism is clearly on the wane in Wisconsin. Whether it is diminishing rapidly enough for Wisconsin to right the wrong it did the nation in 1946 is a question that cannot now be answered.

McCarthy at Princeton

BY KARL E. MEYER

Princeton, New Jersey

NOTHING red is in evidence at Princeton University but the picturesque brick floor of two-hundred-year-old Nassau Hall. One pundit has described Princeton as "the farthest north of all Southern schools." In a Presidential straw vote taken among the undergraduates in 1948, Harry Truman ran a lame third, trailing behind the Dixiecrats as well as Dewey. These things make the current reaction of Princeton undergraduates to the Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph Raymond McCarthy, worthy of notice. When the evil smells of "McCarthy-

KARL E. MEYER, a Wisconsin voter, is a graduate student at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton.

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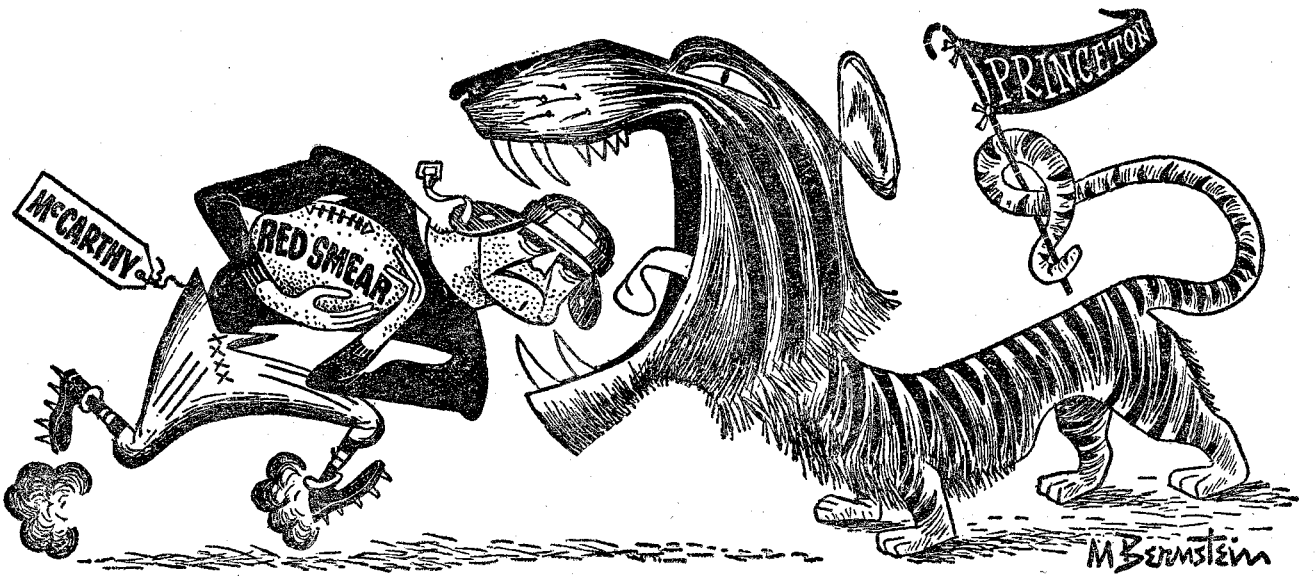

ism" penetrated the ivied Eden of Princeton, an old and stable conservatism was confronted with the *Realpolitik* of Know-Nothing Republicanism.

It all began last February, when five Princeton sophomores, with commendable curiosity, decided to attend a meeting of the Essex County Republicans in nearby Milburn which Senator McCarthy was to address. They went, they listened, and they were called Communists—a traumatic experience for a Princeton sophomore and newsworthy enough to be featured on the front page of the *Daily Princetonian*. The headline read: "Five Princeton Sophomores Attend McCarthy Talk; Senator's Fans Term Them 'Intellectually Twisted.'" The story revealed that the Princeton Five showed a lack of reverence at the meeting by asking, among other things, if Senator McCarthy would repeat his pro-Communist charges against Ambassador Philip Jessup from the immunity-free podium of Milburn High School and were told by two "dowager types" that they were "intellectually twisted."

Before the evening was done the young scholars were in for further, if less horrifying, surprises. In an informal question period after the address, the *Princetonian* reported, one of them made a skeptical remark about the virtues of Joe McCarthy. "Some neighboring listeners," it continued, "hearing the remark, demanded that the two Princetonians be ejected from the meeting. Others proclaimed, 'Let the Commies talk, let the Commies talk.' At this stage a 'little man in a blue suit' appeared and declared that he heartily wished that the Princetonians be sent to Korea and be brought back in a basket." "This suggestion," concluded the paper, "met with no objection from nearby spectators."

Instead of enlisting in the marines, however, the five sophomores drafted a long letter to the student paper, which, under the circumstances, was a model of restraint. The letter began:

> Until last Friday night we had only read about, never experienced, a demagogue. But then in Milburn, New Jersey, we saw Senator Joseph McCarthy in action. This was one of the most eye-opening experiences of our lives, for this representative of the American public transformed a crowd of supposedly intelligent citizens into a mob of . . . haters. To say that these people's minds were putty in the hands of this oratorical artist is too trite and feeble a statement.

The conclusion of the letter warned:

> We feel that McCarthy's appeal to the existing insecurities and fears of the people, his appeal to emotion and not reason, serves to label as subversive any criticism of the status quo. The inference is that *any* position to the left of McCarthy *must* be disloyal.

This might have been the end of the story, but even at Princeton there are some freshmen foolish enough to believe what they read in the papers, if they read beyond the sport and—at Princeton—financial pages. One such freshman wrote a letter immediately to the *Princetonian* complaining that he was "sick and tired of hearing one of our most courageous and honest living Americans slandered by such terms as 'bigot,' 'character assassin,' 'neurotic,' and 'pathological.'" The victimized citizen was Senator McCarthy.

Many students were profoundly disturbed by the fact that even a freshman should have such an idea. In an editorial entitled McCarthyism a Threat to Individual Dignity, the *Princetonian* scolded the erring freshman and warned, "In our opinion, McCarthyism and its effects are as dangerous a threat to the security of this country as any move by the Soviet Union or its satellites."

There were several more letters correcting the freshman. The most interesting was one jointly drafted by five fellow-freshmen who desired to restore the honor of the

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class of 1955. McCarthy, the five students observed, was called "courageous" and "honest."

> But is it honest to exaggerate, to distort? [they asked]. Is it honest to maliciously assail a person without giving any real proof, as he did with Mr. Jessup? Is the Senator courageous to hide behind Congressional immunity or, when bluffed out of this protection, to make threats so vague and hazy they can hardly be defined?

The demands of honor, however, are still more stringent than a mere rebuke at Princeton. The final touch was supplied by the Carlsen Club, an organization recently set up to honor the exploits of the skipper of the Flying Enterprise. The club president, a sophomore, announced that the offending pro-McCarthy freshman was being dropped from its membership. He explained:

> While the club maintains that everyone has the right to freedom of expression, we also feel that the interests of integrity and loyalty in public service—the principles for which we stand—are hindered by the existence within our midst of such libelous views. . . .

This was a unique and in some ways an unfortunate twist: a Princeton freshman being dropped from organizational membership for supporting a Republican Senator.

There may be repercussions. Princeton has been called as politically pure as a Vermont Senator. If Senator McCarthy learns of recent developments, Princeton's reputation may change. After all, one of Princeton's famous alumni is Norman Thomas, and as McCarthy will tell you, a Socialist is only a Communist marching at half-time.

Rebirth of the Nazi International

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE other day the Bavarian Radio revealed that "85 per cent of the leading officials in the West German Foreign Office are former Nazis," a proportion even greater than when the ministry was headed by Joachim von Ribbentrop. The broadcast included an interesting statistical picture of the current personnel, by departments, as follows:

Political Department. The entire executive staff of ten, including the department head and all desk chiefs, are former Nazis who served under von Ribbentrop.

Länder Department (Department of the Federated States). Seven of the eight top officials are veterans both of the Nazi Party and of the Nazi foreign service.

Commerce Department. All five top officials were once party members and also employees of Hitler's Foreign Office.

Cultural Department. Three of the four executives are party veterans.

Personnel Department. Eighteen of the nineteen top officials worked for Hitler's Foreign Office; fourteen were Nazi Party members. (The Personnel Department has primary responsibility for choosing the Foreign Office staff.)

Protocol Department. Two of the three top executives were party members.

The qualitative break-down of this list is as impressive as the quantitative. Among the men now serving in the Bonn Foreign Office are Legation Counselor von Keller, first assistant to Woermann, a Hitler Secretary of State who was sentenced to death as a war criminal at Nürnberg; Legation Counselor Melchers, a Middle East expert who conducted the Führer's negotiations with the Grand Mufti, Jew-baiter and war criminal; Herr von Trützschler, who helped prepare Ribbentrop's famous White Books; Heribert von Strempel, secretary of Hitler's embassy in Washington and one of the organizers of the Nazi fifth column in the United States, who is now in a position to resume his contacts in this country. This is only a small sampling of what the Hitler regime has bequeathed to Herr Adenauer's Foreign Ministry. Other ministries are only a little less contaminated. Last fall, at a meeting of experts called to Paris to discuss the question of a European army, French officers expressed resentment that their German opposites were accompanied by advisers who had formerly been notorious Nazis.

The situation in Germany has become more dangerous because of the number of disgruntled ex-servicemen who have been drawn into soldiers' leagues by ex-General Friessner. They constitute a political army of a distinctly fascist stripe. Friessner himself has been so outspoken in his Nazi sympathies—he characterized the abortive 1944 revolt against Hitler as a "cowardly attempt to murder the Supreme Commander behind the front line"—that Bonn felt compelled to replace him. But his successor, on assuming office, declared: "I had to obey the orders of my Führer. I could not stab the Supreme Commander in the back as the Social Democrats did in World War I." It would not seem as though the change were calculated to modify the nationalist fervor of the war

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veterans' organizations or their loyalty to former Nazi leaders.

The fascist revival is also in full swing on the other side of the Brenner Pass, especially in southern Italy. There the neo-Fascists expect great victories in the municipal elections to be held at the end of next month. Foreign observers in Rome were shocked by the recent demonstrations for the return of Trieste instigated by neo-Fascists. But these evidences of fascist arrogance in Italy are less important than the underground effort to reorganize the Fascist militia, or the fact that important henchmen of Hitler are still in hiding and presumably playing active roles in the Fascist underground. One may doubt the report recently published in the Berlin Socialist daily *Telegraf* that Martin Bormann, the Führer's deputy, is hiding in a Rome monastery under the name of Brother Martin. It is a fact, however, that many Nazis have found refuge in Italian monasteries.

They also continue to find refuge in Switzerland. Recently a reporter for the weekly *Die Nation* of Berne discovered that a resident of Lugano was receiving a great deal of mail, especially from South America, and was making frequent rush trips to Italy and Austria. The Lugano man also made a trip to Egypt, where a group of ex-Gestapo members has been active for a year, operating within the framework of the amusing but dangerous friendship which has sprung up between Franco and certain Arab feudal chiefs. The Berne reporter finally penetrated the alias of this seemingly inoffensive resident of Lugano. He turned out to be former S. S. leader Eugen Dollman, once a close associate of Heinrich Himmler and intermediary between Marshal Kesselring, commander of German forces in Italy, and the Gestapo, which was then trying to liberate Mussolini. As a result of *Die Nation's* exposé, Dollman has been deported; Swiss authorities, who like authorities elsewhere had come to believe that fascism was an outmoded affair of interest only to historians, are now carrying on a thorough investigation of Nazi activities in their country.

A few days after *Die Nation's* story appeared, John J. McCloy, American High Commissioner for Germany, denied knowledge of the existence of an important group of Nazi conspirators in Cairo. It is apparent that Mr. McCloy does not read the German press with sufficient care. For the *Echo der Woche* of Munich had already carried a long article, entitled Nazi Conspiracy in Cairo, Madrid, and Rome, which presented detailed information on what the paper called "the new Fascist International" and its operations in the Middle East at a time when that area was becoming increasingly a focus of East-West conflict.

The title of the Munich article was not a literary caprice. An international fascist conference held secretly in Sweden some time ago—a recent issue of *Time* magazine makes reference to it—adopted as its slogan: "Fascists of the World, Unite." The few intelligence agents in Europe who are paying any attention to the problem are convinced that an executive committee is reorganizing fascist forces throughout the world from underground headquarters in Madrid. These agents are also convinced that the fascists have a great deal of money at their disposal. It will be recalled that during the war official investigations revealed that considerable sums had been transferred to several Latin American countries, notably Argentina, from Germany via Madrid.

In the war's closing months, when Hitler knew that the struggle was irremediably lost, fund transfers from Germany to Spain increased. Other Nazi assets were either hidden in a physical sense or deposited in various countries under aliases. A sensational discovery in a Tyrolean village in 1950 disclosed that S. S. forces, before they withdrew from the area in April, 1945, buried forty to fifty million dollars' worth of loot. Surely there must still exist many caches of gold and foreign currency which

U. S. Policy on Nazis

OFFICIAL publisher of the daily *Neue Zeitung* of Munich, which carries on its masthead the legend, "An American Newspaper in Germany," is the United States High Commissioner for Germany. Recently the newspaper in an editorial sharply warned Chancellor Adenauer that his foreign policy could never win back the confidence of the world so long as his Foreign Office employed men who had served the Nazi regime and were accessories to Hitler's crimes.

A few days later, at the specific request of the High Commissioner's office, the *Neue Zeitung* ran the following retraction: "A speaker for the American High Commissioner made this statement on Monday: 'In view of the fact that the political past of certain members of the Foreign Office is being investigated upon the initiative of the Foreign Office itself, the editorial of the *Neue Zeitung* was out of place. The *Neue Zeitung* had no intention of influencing the authorities charged with the investigation.'"

Tactfully ignoring the hint of internecine squabbling at high American levels implicit in the incident, the Social Democratic News Service, an organ of the German Social Democratic Party, made the following general comment: "For the price of a German defense contribution, the United States High Commission is apparently willing to accept even gravely incriminated members of the Foreign Office, regardless of the fact that these people have dishonored the German name."

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the Gestapo took from Jews and other Nazi victims, not only in Germany but in the occupied countries.

As for the United States, one can assume that the thousands of Nazis who were in this country before Pearl Harbor, and about whom the FBI made several interesting reports at the time, have not simply disappeared into thin air; nor have they been converted to democracy. Most of them are still here and form a link between the Nazis in Europe and those who operate in Latin America protected by totalitarian regimes like Perón's. America has become a kind of refueling point for the busy and wide-ranging fascist conspirators.

Impressions of New China

BY V. K. R. V. RAO

[*V. K. R. V. RAO is one of India's most distinguished citizens, a scholar and economist of international repute. He has represented the government of India at the United Nations and at many important international conferences and is now head of the Delhi School of Economics and of the Department of Economics at Delhi University. This article is the first of two based on his experience as a member of a group of Indian intellectuals who made an official good-will tour of China last fall. We think Mr. Rao's reports of special significance as reflecting an important segment of non-Communist Indian opinion on Communist China.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Delhi, India

AT THE outset I wish to state that my observations on the new China have a very limited basis. They are derived largely from a stay in China of hardly more than five weeks, during which I visited Canton, Peking Mukden, Tientsin, Nanking, and Shanghai. I was able to inspect a number of factories, villages, shops, universities, and exhibitions, as well as visit places of cultural and historical interest. In addition, our group held discussions, either together or singly, with important personages in the political and economic field, including the Prime Minister of China, the Governor of the People's Bank of China, the Mayor of Peking, the Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor, and several university professors. In a number of cases the conversation was in English and carried on tête-à-tête, while in others interpreters had to be utilized. A trained observer is also adept at using his eyes and ears in a foreign country, and though ignorance of the local language may put the ears out of action, the eyes discover many interesting things on a long rail journey.

Let me begin with some remarks about the new government of China. It is a multi-party government in the sense that it contains representatives of political parties other than the Communist Party and prominent individuals with no special party affiliations, but leadership is unquestionably in the hands of the Communist Party, and the three most important posts—Chairman, Premier, and Commander-in-Chief—are held by Communists. It is based on what is called the "people's democratic united front," which includes not only the working class and the peasantry but also the petty bourgeoisie, or trading classes, and the national bourgeoisie, or patriotic capitalists. Admittedly the government functions as a dictatorship, but the only groups conscious of repression are those with vested feudal interests and persons who, having lost their special positions of privilege or power, would like to bring back the old regime. I cannot help feeling that part of the emphasis one finds in China on the suppression of these classes is due to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's rule in Formosa constitutes a standing threat to the Peking government, especially since it is supported by the United States.

For the rest of the population, and this means the vast majority, the constitution provides for people's congresses at all levels; these are elected by universal franchise and in turn elect the central, regional, state, municipal, county, and village governments. A few cities and counties have already elected people's congresses; in others local power is wielded by representative conferences constituted on the multi-party lines of the Central Chinese People's Consultative Conference. The system has brought the people into close contact with the government and given them the opportunity to ventilate their needs and express their criticisms.

Moreover, the people are being organized according to locality, occupation, sex, and so on, and these organizations function actively, directing their attention not so much to ideological issues as to the concrete problems of daily life. The people discuss their own faults and ways of helping themselves as well as the faults of government officials and ways of obtaining more effective government aid. Of course their meetings are also used by the government to expound its program, explain its actions, and seek popular support for its policies. The government is constantly explaining and educating; the people are constantly discussing. China has become one large talking shop or rather a multitude of little discussion clubs; and there is an undeniable feeling in the air that the people are participating in the government.

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Whether this is democracy or dictatorship I do not know. I do know that the political liveliness, the widespread knowledge of and interest in details of government activity, and the government's sensitiveness to the need for educating public opinion and enlisting public support make an overwhelming impression even on a comparatively hard-boiled and much-traveled visitor. Curiously enough, the only other country I know where there is the same mass interest in governmental activity and the same governmental sensitiveness to it is the United States. Perhaps the new China, in spite of its denunciation of "American imperialism," is being unconsciously influenced by the democratic processes characteristic of the nation with which the old China had more friendly associations for a century and a half than it enjoyed with any other country.

There is no doubt that the new government is an effective government; its writ runs the length and breadth of continental China. It is true that most of the bridges are still guarded by armed sentries, and that officials, both civil and military, have an alertness which suggests they are conscious of hostile forces across the seas and of the possible presence of saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries at home. But soldiers were little in evidence in the cities and villages we visited, and the police of the cities generally carried no arms. One could sense in the people walking on the street, hurrying to their work, crowding into department stores, or returning from movie houses that intangible something which betokens confidence in the maintenance of law and order. Women moved about as freely as men. There were no black-outs, and neon lights livened up the streets at night.

THE strongest impression I received from the tour was of normality with perhaps a little more mass activity and enthusiasm than one would find under a longer-established regime. Obviously the new government has come to stay; all varieties and shades of opinion in China appeared convinced of this. At last the country has one government, one flag, one national anthem, one currency, and one system of law. I could feel the consciousness of strength this evoked in the most ordinary people I met. It was a great change from the old regime, people told me. Unless everyone was lying and my own eyes were deceived, the effectiveness, stability, and popularity of the new government of China are beyond all doubt. The magnificent, five-hour-long parade I saw on the national day in Peking confirmed this impression. It was like nothing I had ever seen before in India or outside.

Naturally, I was curious to know how the new government had become so popular. It was partly, of course, because of the contrast between the austerity, devotion to work, and honesty of the new Communist-led officialdom and the demoralization and corruption of the previous regime. And it was partly because of the contrast between the Communist armies and all the armies the people had known before. A non-Communist, American-educated university professor said to me: "These people upset all our old notions about the army. They never entered our houses without permission; they refused gifts and would take nothing which they did not pay for; they treated our women with respect, helped our old men across streets, and showed themselves willing to do odd jobs for us, especially those which needed heavy labor. They talked of serving the people, and soon we found they meant what they said. They certainly deserved their title, People's Liberation Army; and they were the best ambassadors of the new regime. We would do anything for them."

V. K. R. V. Rao

Another reason for the government's popularity is the sense of national dignity and pride it has promoted among the people. A good example of its methods is its insistence that the Chinese language be used everywhere; even the soaps and cigarettes manufactured by foreign concerns in China, like the Imperial Tobacco Company and Lever Brothers, now bear Chinese names and trademarks instead of English. Women are finding opportunities for work and self-expression they never had before. Young people are taken more seriously and allowed to play a more important role in national reconstruction than they had ever thought would be open to them.

One thing is absolutely clear to my mind. It is not mere propaganda or skill in psychological approach that has won the new government of China the support of all classes; nor is it solely its high code of personal conduct, or its evocation of national strength and pride. In addition to these factors there is a hard material base for the loyalty of the people. And that is the concrete improvement in their material condition which all classes see is the result of action taken by the government, though less than three years have elapsed since it was established.

This cannot be better illustrated than by reference to the attitude of the largest class in China, the peasantry. The new government has broken the grip of the landlords and thereby secured the support of the vast majority of those who work on the land.

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Experiment in Industrial Democracy

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TODAY Yugoslavia is still a one-party state: at election time the voters receive a single list of candidates. The press represents the view of the government, and there is no freedom of assembly for enemies of the regime. In spite of this, the assumption that the Yugoslav dictatorship is as absolute as that of Russia is contradicted by several recent political and economic developments. The stated goal of present-day Yugoslav policy, in sharp contrast to post-war Soviet tendencies, is to curb the government's powers in various directions. If this change continues, it will have significant consequences far beyond Yugoslavia's borders, for it will be the first instance in modern history of a dictatorial government relinquishing part of its control.

The trend, of course, is comparatively new. The Yugoslavs embarked on their political and social reforms only when they became convinced that the break with the Soviet Union was irrevocable. One of the first changes instituted was in the direction of decentralization—of what in this country would be called "states' rights." Yugoslavia, which is made up of a number of republics representing widely different stages of economic development, had at first sought to govern these republics —whose own powers were nominal—through a kind of bureaucratic centralism. Today the autonomy of the republics is being strengthened, and only the most urgent matters are being regulated by the central government.

A similar process is going on in Yugoslavia's economic life. As late as 1950, in line with its Five-Year Plan, Yugoslavia's economy was strictly controlled by the central authority. In recent months this principle has been partly abandoned. The government still directs over-all planning, but industrial, business, and agricultural enterprises are being given greater freedom.

In practice the system works like this: The government's over-all plan merely lays down the minimum production quota in vital industries; it further establishes minimum wages for skilled and unskilled workers and for technicians. It fixes the approximate quota for new investments and decides at the same time in what industries and plants new investments are to be made. In addition, it controls almost all foreign trade. In this way the government assures the armaments industry the imports it needs and also decides how much certain branches of industry must export in order to pay for essential imports.

Within these limits individual industrial, business, and agricultural enterprises are allowed a fairly wide margin of control. For example, plants are given a free hand to produce more than the minimum government quota, and in the same way once a factory has passed its minimum production quota, both total and individual wages may rise above the government minimums in proportion to the increased output. Similarly the state determines minimum investments; however, beyond this, the workers themselves may decide whether, and how much, they want to invest in their own plant.

This system is no longer abstract theory; it is being turned into practice. I visited a tractor plant near Belgrade. In the previous few months this plant had produced about 50 tractors a month—an annual output of 600 tractors. If it could be better supplied with raw materials, or, to put it differently, if arms production did not swallow up so much iron ore, then the annual output could be raised to nearly 1,000 tractors. Considering that Yugoslavia has altogether some 6,000 agricultural collectives, this tractor plant is obviously vital to the economy. It employs about 1,600 people. By American and Western European standards its equipment is not first-rate, but compared to most Balkan countries it is quite modern. Recently houses for the workers have been built near the plant; half the workers already live there, while the other half live in neighboring communities. They work eight hours a day, forty-eight hours a week; the plant has a good restaurant, which the majority of the workers patronize, and good sanitary facilities.

The plant manager—*and he alone*—was chosen by the central planning bureau; together with him a workers' council elected by the workers themselves makes all the major decisions. The central over-all plan provides that the minimum output is to be fifty tractors a month; it further provides for the necessary raw materials, sets the minimum wages—which are paid even if the minimum quota is not reached and unemployment or part-time work results for reasons beyond the management's control, for example, in case of difficulties in raw-material deliveries. Apart from these basic regulations, however, the workers' council is given considerable leeway. Whenever production and productivity go up, it can raise the minimum quota and pay higher wages. By examining the wage scales in the various work categories I discovered that wages paid to the workers are considerably higher than the prescribed minimums, often more than one-

FRITZ STERNBERG is the author of the widely discussed book "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial." He contributed an article on other aspects of Yugoslavia to The Nation *of March 8.*

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third higher. This naturally strengthens the bond between the workers and their jobs, enhances their interest in the plant's output, and makes them feel that it belongs to them—actually as well as legally.

The change taking place in this particular tractor plant, like that going on throughout the country, is aimed at broadening social democracy in the labor process itself and also in the relationships between worker and production. It is part of an effort the success of which is by no means assured. But the cumulative effect of everything I saw in Yugoslavia justifies a moderate optimism. And this feeling is increased by the fact that young men are at the helm of the government. With the exception of Tito most of the ministers are between thirty and forty and most of the men who run industry are just as young. They are vigorous and hopeful, and ready to experiment with new ideas.

This attempt to substitute industrial democracy for centralized control, if it does succeed, can have far-reaching consequences. For it comes to grips with a world-wide problem. With an ever-increasing share of the world's industrial output being produced by large plants, a kind of dehumanization of labor has come to pass. Many Socialists have believed that this evil could be eliminated by the nationalization of vital industries. But post-war experience has shown clearly that this change by itself is not enough.

In Great Britain the Labor government nationalized a number of key industries, but the position of the worker himself, his personal attitude to his work, remained basically the same. It was this experience, among others, which led many British Fabians to visit Yugoslavia during the past year, to gather concrete evidence as to how the problem was being tackled there, where the government has absolute power. Germany has also recognized the importance of this question. The Bonn Parliament has passed a law which gives the workers equal power with management in determining the policy of major industries; so far its effect has hardly been felt. But Germany too is beginning to realize, on the basis of Britain's experience, that a nationalized and planned economy in no way solves the problem of giving the worker a stake in the enterprise, in the growth of production and productivity. Responsible German labor men and Socialists intend to acquaint themselves with the concrete results of Yugoslavia's experiment. They realize, of course, that one country's findings cannot be schematically applied to another. But it would be of great value for the growth of *social* democracy everywhere if British, Yugoslav, and German experience could be shared.

The Crusade Against Bridges

BY FOWLER HARPER

HARRY BRIDGES, now seeking a reversal of his conviction of perjury in connection with his naturalization as an American, was born in Australia of middle-class stock. As a young man he was exposed to the moderate trade-union, socialist political philosophy which prevailed there during the early years of the century. At nineteen he came to the United States as a legal immigrant and after a few years in various maritime jobs settled down in San Francisco. For ten or twelve years this fellow earned his living, such as it was, in the same wretched way as the thousands of others who toiled, when they could get work, on the San Francisco waterfront. But when the depression and the New Deal got into full swing, Bridges became distinguishable from the other waterfront employees. In 1934 he was elected chairman of the longshoremen's strike committee.

From that time on Harry Bridges has been one of the most effective labor leaders in the United States. He has also been a marked man. In 1936 he became president of the West Coast Longshoremen's Union and has held the post ever since. By shrewd, imaginative, and often militant leadership he has raised the average earnings of its members from a starving wage to more than $5,000 a year, as compared to the $1,700 average of Joe Ryan's boss-ridden East Coast unionists. It may or may not be significant that the government has shown almost complete indifference to Ryan's conduct of his union, which is notoriously a disgrace to the labor movement. Until the 1934 West Coast strike the government showed no interest in Bridges, or in his social, economic, or political views. Since then it has waged a campaign against this Australian immigrant that has no doubt been matched in some countries but hardly here.

Although Bridges has been in the United States since 1922, he was first investigated late in 1934 by the District Director of Immigration and the San Francisco police department. The District Director reported that his investigation failed to show that Bridges was "in any manner connected with the Communist Party or any radical organization." He also reported that the San Francisco police had "likewise been unable to obtain any evidence that the alien [Bridges] has ever been a member of the Communist Party or in any manner directly affiliated therewith or a member of any radical organization."

FOWLER HARPER is professor of law at Yale University.

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In 1936, notwithstanding this clean bill of health for Bridges, the Commissioner of Immigration, under pressure from certain West Coast interests, appointed a three-man committee to start a new investigation of Bridges's alleged subversive behavior. The committee reported that "whenever any legal ground for the deportation of Bridges has been brought to the attention of the Department of Labor [which at that time had jurisdiction over the Immigration Service], it has been investigated, but invariably it has been found that he was in the clear, and that his status as an immigrant was entirely regular."

Bridges and his union no doubt thought that the end of the matter—three investigations and three clearances. But they did not reckon accurately the power of those who wanted to crush the union and get rid of its tough leader. These people represented large shipping companies, the American Legion, the Associated Farmers, and even so-called labor leaders like Ryan and Lundberg. The Secretary of Labor finally ordered a fourth investigation by the department's solicitor. He made it and came up with the same answer. Nevertheless, the pressures continued. A resolution was even introduced in Congress to impeach the Secretary of Labor. Whether as a result or not, the Secretary issued a warrant for Bridges's arrest with a view to deportation on the ground that he was a member of the Communist Party, and hearings were held before a specially appointed examiner, James M. Landis, former dean of the Harvard Law School. The government threw everything at Bridges, including 138 exhibits. The accused himself submitted 136. Sixty witnesses were examined. The stenographic transcript ran to 7,700 pages. Dean Landis made an exhaustive analysis of the record and concluded that on the evidence Bridges was neither a member of nor affiliated in any way with the Communist Party. The Secretary of Labor approved the report. Here was the fourth clearance.

The pressure to get Bridges out of the country increased. The House passed a special bill directing the Attorney General to deport him, "notwithstanding any other provision of law." The bill died in the Senate after Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General, denounced it as unconstitutional. But Congress and the men behind some of its members were not content. The Immigration Act was promptly amended, admittedly to achieve the desired result by making past membership in the Communist Party ground for deportation. Indeed, the author of the bill said: "It is my joy to announce that this bill will do in a perfectly legal constitutional manner what the bill specifically aimed at the deportation of Harry Bridges seeks to accomplish. This bill changes the law so that the Department of Justice should now have little trouble in deporting Harry Bridges and all others of similar ilk."

The Department of Justice got right on the ball. A new warrant was issued for Bridges's arrest and deportation on the charge that he had once been a member of the party. Another hearing was held before Judge Charles B. Sears, who found against Bridges. The Board of Immigration Appeals reversed him. The Attorney General reversed the Board of Appeals and ordered Bridges deported. A writ of habeas corpus was denied in the Federal Distict Court. The decision was affirmed in the Circuit Court of Appeals by a divided court. The Supreme Court reversed it and found for Bridges in two blistering opinions. Justice Murphy said:

> The record in this case will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance to man. Seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise the freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed to him by the Constitution. . . . Industrial and farming organizations, veterans' groups, city police departments, and private undercover agents, all joined in an unremitting effort to deport him. . . . Wire-tapping, searches and seizures without warrant, and other forms of invasion of the right of privacy have been widely employed in this deportation drive.

WHAT manner of man is this who for fifteen years has created a civil-liberties furor heard round the world—unfortunately even behind the Iron Curtain? One has to see Harry Bridges in action to catch his temper—see him in the hiring halls with his men, note their grim devotion to him, see him hard-bargaining with the Waterfront Employers' Association, hear him testifying to his faith in democratic processes and his simple belief in the rights of workers and their trade unions. Justice Douglas quoted a revealing passage from Landis's report:

> Bridges's own statement of his political beliefs and disbeliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve but vigorously, as dogmas and faiths of which the man was proud and which represented in his mind the aims of his existence. It was a fighting apologia that refused to temper itself to the winds of caution.

It is obvious that Bridges made a deep impression on Landis as he has on many others. Bridges is contagious. People around him catch fire from his zeal. Ask the determined organizers who faced riot acts and hoodlums' violence to invade Hawaii and organize the sugar workers! But the array of money and power against him is more than any immigrant labor leader can overcome in the atmosphere that pervades the nation today.

Shortly after the Supreme Court decision was handed down, Bridges pressed his pending application for citizenship and thought he was naturalized by decree of a federal court. But in May, 1949, he was indicted for conspiracy to defraud the government—by lying when he testified that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. There is evidence that more than a year earlier

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the then Attorney General had determined to oust Bridges from the leadership of his union in one way or another. The Attorney General also intimated, on the eve of the prosecution, that his conviction would have a quieting effect on economic disturbances in Hawaii.

Bridges was tried on a charge which in substance was perjury. The Department of Justice assigned a battery of six lawyers to the case. Bridges was convicted on the testimony of a parade of witnesses as dubious as those in the preceding trial, who had been characterized by Dean Landis in a way to leave little doubt that he thought they had all perjured themselves. Indeed, the government's evidence in the earlier trial, in the words of one of the Appeals Court judges, "would be condemned and proscribed without hesitation by any American court."

In July, 1950, while his case was pending on appeal, as it still is, on motion of the government, Bridges's bail was revoked, and he was thrown into jail because he spoke out for a cease-fire in Korea. Now, twenty months and a hundred thousand American casualties later, most people, including Senator Taft, also want a cease-fire. The trial court's revocation of bail was reversed by the Court of Appeals, and the most hated and most respected labor leader in the country is for the time being running his union as usual.

Aside from the question of who is lying about Bridges's relationship to the Communist Party, one of the principal issues in the case is the statute of limitations. This statute has always been considered important in the administration of justice; it is not a mere technicality. It is not fair to prosecute a man for something he is alleged to have done many years before. Witnesses die, their memories fail, records are lost. The general statute of limitations on criminal prosecutions sets a time limit of three years. The present prosecution was initiated more than three years after the alleged perjury. However, a war-time "Suspension Act" lifted the limitation where "fraud" was charged. The legislative history of this act shows that the fraud which Congress had in mind was in connection with contracts and other negotiations involving pecuniary loss to the government. The Supreme Court had held that a similar earlier statute was inapplicable to perjury in connection with an income-tax return. Cheating the government out of money is no part of the crime of perjury. But the trial judge in Bridges's pending case stretched the suspension act to knock out the statute of limitations.

HOW many times does a man have to defend himself against the same charge? What of the constitutional provision that a man may not be tried twice for the same offense? This is the third proceeding in which Bridges has had to face the accusation that at some time after his entry to the United States he joined or somehow became affiliated with the Communist Party. The government was the moving party each time. The two administrative proceedings for deportation may technically not be criminal in nature, although banishment, as Justice Brandeis has said, "may result also in the loss of both property and life or all that makes life worth living." In the present case the charge was criminal in nature and the loss of citizenship incidental—just thrown in for the tax. Nevertheless, Bridges has been put in jeopardy of exile from the United States three times.

Harry Bridges

Repeatedly Bridges's attorney raised the point, and repeatedly the trial judge ruled against him. The attorney sought to introduce in evidence the decision of the Supreme Court. The trial judge charged the jury specifically that no force or effect whatever could be given to any of the prior decisions. Bridges was defending from scratch. The government, of course, introduced much evidence which had not been presented in the deportation proceedings. Practically all of it, however, was at least questionable as hearsay. There was no documentary evidence to substantiate any part of the charge.

On the main issue—had Bridges ever been a Communist since he came to the United States?—the principal witnesses against him were ten labor organizers, or officials, who were renegades from the party. Bridges had necessarily had considerable traffic with them during his long career on the waterfront. With some of them he had had strong differences in the rough and tumble union activities of the period. It is not easy to prove a negative proposition, and Bridges's witnesses would naturally be less convincing than the government's on this issue. How many persons could *anybody* get to testify that they *knew* he had never been a Communist? Under cross-examination it would invariably come down to a matter of belief. There is no escape from the fact that either Bridges himself or most of the government's principal witnesses lied. The record of the trial discloses a good bit of evidence that at least two and probably three of the government's witnesses perjured themselves. Two others look pretty bad, and one admitted ex-comrade had been on the government's pay roll to the tune of several thousand dollars.

In his charge to the jury on the credibility of the wit-

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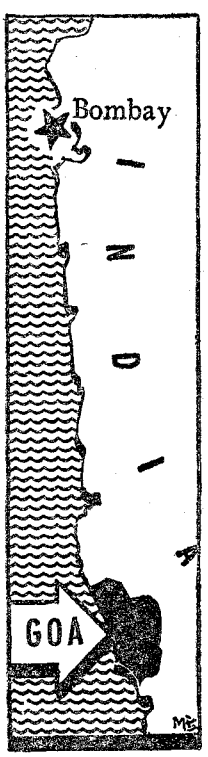
nesses the trial judge appears to have set up a less onerous standard for the trustworthiness of the government's witnesses than for that of the defense witnesses. In any event, now that the trial is over, there is not much doubt where his sympathies were while it was in progress. At the outset of his charge he said, poetically, "I trust you may be able to perceive the truth shimmering like gold in the crucible of this trial, in the searching light of legal principles applicable." After the verdict of guilt he told them triumphantly, "You have finally found the golden truth shimmering in the fiery crucible of this trial."

Yes, after sixteen years and six tries, the government finally found the "golden truth" about Bridges.

The Saga of Goa

BY MARIO ROSSI

AN INTERESTING little document was smuggled out of Portuguese India the other day. Goa, on the west coast of India, with a population of 600,000, is still a Portuguese colony, though it would like to join greater India. The people have offered passive resistance to Portugal's repressive rule and have tried to inform the Western world that they are being denied the right to self-determination, but the Portuguese authorities have managed to keep the matter under cover. Now at last a well-documented memorandum prepared by one of the leaders of the Goa liberation committee, or National Congress, and setting forth the people's grievances has been received in this country.



Civil liberties, the memorandum demonstrates, do not exist in Goa. A strictly enforced censorship extends to every kind of printed matter, including advertisements, calendars, and wedding invitations. The police are all-powerful and are mostly troops imported from Africa. All contacts with India are forbidden to the people under threat of imprisonment or deportation; Goans may not even visit the Indian consulate.

The Congress charges that the colonial administration has no semblance of democracy. The Governor General, appointed by the Minister for Colonies in Lisbon, is the supreme authority. He is assisted by a Council of fourteen members, nine of whom are nominated by the administration and five elected by the forty richest taxpayers.

After referring to the West's lack of interest in Goa's national aspirations, the memorandum says:

> Since no practical steps were taken by the Indian government to implement its verbal statements [in favor of Goan independence], the government of Goa still enjoys the privileged position assured to the Portuguese in India by their former protector [Britain]. . . . This is largely due to the attitude of English-trained civil servants toward the Portuguese authorities. They act in direct opposition to the declared policy of Pandit Nehru, and still seem to consider Portugal the "oldest ally."

Challenging the contention that Goa is profiting economically from its ties with Portugal, the memorandum states that according to the latest available statistics imports are six times greater than exports, the deficit being made up by heavy taxation and remittances from Goans who have emigrated to India or Africa. The standard of living of the Goans is purposely kept low. Some 90 per cent of the population is illiterate, and no more than 5 per cent can speak Portuguese.

Those Goans who have been converted, usually under duress, to Catholicism favor union with India as strongly as the others, but the church opposes it. The church considers Goa one of its bastions in the Far East and maintains a patriarchate there. The Patriarch, D. José da Costa Nunes, has said: "In carrying out the church's program of work I can and I must inculcate love for Portugal in the people and condemn the imbecility of the country's incorporation into greater India." Of course, the preeminent position of the church would suffer from union with India, where Catholics are a tiny minority. Salazar has thus found the church a convenient instrument of the dictatorship's colonial policies.

Portugal first gained a foothold in India in the sixteenth century but acquired most of the Goan territory in the eighteenth. The Goan liberation movement began to be formidable in 1946, when campaigns of civil disobedience were instituted. An Indian government official told me that Prime Minister Nehru is in complete sympathy with the aspirations of the Goans and is trying to induce Portugal to hold a plebiscite. Mahatma Gandhi was a great friend of Goan independence and repeatedly condemned Portuguese rule. On August 2, 1946, he wrote to the Governor General of Portuguese India:

> What I see and know of conditions in Goa is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been silent is proof not of the innocence or the beneficence of the Portuguese government but of its rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined to a few malcontents. Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view.

MARIO ROSSI was formerly The Nation's *correspondent in Rome.*

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

IN THE March issue of *Harper's* Magazine, Joyce Cary attacks what he calls our favorite folly, the belief that one of the end-products of modern industrial democratic society is and must be the mass mind. He subscribed to this belief himself, he says, until he went to administer the affairs of a primitive tribe in Africa—and found that "the tribal mind was much more truly a mass mind than anything I had known in Europe." He takes, one by one, the arguments usually invoked to prove that individuality is vanishing from the Western world and shows that they are actually evidences of the opposite tendency.

One of these arguments is the "enormous increase of law and regulation"—it is sometimes referred to as regimentation. In a primitive society no such elaborate structure is necessary, says Mr. Cary, for the reason that no one questions the authority of the tribal chiefs or the sanctity of old customs. Men and their demands are really standardized—and severely limited. "But the modern state, simply because of the independence of its citizens, the complication of their demands, needs a huge machine of law and police. This is not a proof of the mass mind but the exact opposite—of a growing number of people who think and act for themselves and, rightly or wrongly, are ready to defy the old simple rules founded on custom."

To the argument that "mass education" is debasing the standards of thought and producing mob minds—an argument tirelessly repeated in sorrow or in anger by liberals as well as reactionaries—he replies that no kind of education, however narrow, "can produce the mass mind. The reason is that minds are creative, that thoughts wander by themselves and cannot be controlled by the cleverest police. . . . To teach people to think, if only to make them more useful as soldiers and mechanics, is to open all thoughts to them—a whole world of ideas."

IT IS A long-term answer. But in any assessment of the merits of the democratic idea—and that is the real issue in the argument Mr. Cary has joined—only the long view is applicable. Relatively speaking, the democratic idea has been in operation only a very short time. No one will deny that it has released the bodies and the minds and the creative faculties of millions who would otherwise have passed their lives in serfdom or slavery or the tribal uniformity that Mr. Cary describes. To expect that, in so brief a time, it should also have brought these millions to a high level of taste, of judgment and discrimination, not only in the arts but in every other field, is both unfair and, as Mr. Cary points out, profoundly defeatist. He is not dismayed by "the crowds at the cinemas and the bus loads on the sightseeing tours. . . . They have already left the mass; they are individuals seeking ideas for themselves." At least, as he says, there is a great *variety* of taste—and while the continuous search for novelty may be a sign of dissatisfaction, dissatisfaction is not characteristic of the mass mind.

As for the quality of public taste, perhaps the wonder, on balance, should be not that it is as low as it is but that it is as high as it is, considering all the hazards. I am thinking of such hazards as the commercial exploitation of bad taste by cynical entrepreneurs who nevertheless feel called upon to exonerate themselves by taking refuge in the hoary claim that they are providing "what the people want"; and of such devices as the Motion Picture Code, which in the name of morality has forced the production of hundreds of "inoffensive" and "non-controversial" films which are so immoral and vulgar in the true sense of these words that your genuine moralist can't sit through them.

I do not mean to exaggerate the quality of the public taste. And I am quite prepared for the possibility that it may get worse before it gets better. But having made these generalizations, I hasten to assert that any generalization about so vast a development as the spread of democratic society is bound to be at best no more than half true. Public taste is made up of millions of private individual tastes and uneven development is of its essence. In some sectors it will assuredly get worse before it gets better. In others it will never again be worse than it is and is getting better.

"If you want to write a best-seller," says Mr. Cary, "your best subject nowadays is probably cosmology." This fact offsets somewhat the fact that the market for good fiction and poetry is very limited. As it happens, fiction in general, the bad and mediocre as well as the good, has shown a large decline in sales these past years—ask any publisher. It could be that the lack of interest in good fiction, together with the growth of interest in cosmology, is not an indication of the increasing vulgarity and mediocrity of the democratic "mass" mind but, instead, a sign that at this stage the desire for knowledge is uppermost. It need not mean, either, that fiction and poetry are "finished"; it is at least possible that the desire for knowledge will be succeeded by a demand for the more rarefied nourishment of fiction and poetry. This is the usual sequence in individual development, and the individual is the unit and the mainspring of the democratic process.

THIS LAST FACT is too often overlooked or forgotten—and to me one of the great ironies of the past thirty years is that it has been so often overlooked and forgotten by the very people who consider themselves the champions of the democratic idea. It is they, for instance, who are most likely to use a term which I have used myself, which I shall never use again, and which I think should be banished from the democratic vocabulary—I mean that condescending, arrogant, and subtly self-glorifying term "the masses." It is a term that corrupts the user, for as soon as one reduces human beings, in one's mind, to a featureless, undifferentiated "mass," one is on the way to being ready to treat them not as human beings but as insentient *things*, to be categorized, manipulated, even destroyed—and all of

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course for their own good. The totalitarians have shown us and are still showing us where this sort of dehumanized thinking leads. Another, related irony is that the defense of the individual has become the shibboleth of old-fashioned reactionaries who really regard the majority of people as "a great beast."

IN REPORTING last week on "Flight Into Egypt" I didn't get round to mentioning an element which other reviewers noted and which was very much in evidence. This was the piling up of afflictions—on the characters and on the audience as well—to the point where one had to become insensible or walk out. The situation presented was cruel enough—that of a cripple and his wife and child, almost penniless, waiting from moment to moment for a visa to the United States—though it was somehow alleviated by the information that they had their steamship tickets! But a gruesome and to my mind quite unnecessary twist was added. The cripple had a radio on his wheelchair and we were carefully told that when the pain was upon him he turned on the radio to drown his screams. It seems to me that sadism—in this case directed at the audience—could go no farther; and there are other details almost as harrowing. "Flight Into Egypt" may be intended as a serious play about a subject of pressing interest; it often gives the effect of being an attempt to exploit current emotions about refugees, war cripples, and mean American consuls.

Personal Chronicle

AFTER ALL. The Autobiography of Norman Angell. Farrar, Straus and Young. $4.50.

NOT many elders of our time can have been more badgered than Sir Norman Angell to set about the writing of reminiscences, and there is one curious point in the persistent demand. The men and women who make up his immense circle of acquaintance have for the most part esteemed him only as author and international evangelist. They are unaware that his life has comprised an abundance of adventure; that this man of slight physique spent his early manhood in the fierce labor of a pioneer in the great West, and that until the onset of old age he found his recreation in home-building and stiff sailing. To the large majority, therefore, of those readers who can claim some personal knowledge of the author, "After All" will come as the revelation of an original man of action.

Norman Angell is a native of eastern England, coming from a small Lincolnshire town not many miles from Old Boston. His parents were moderately well-to-do. They would gladly have sent him to Cambridge and backed him for a lucrative profession, but from the start he had other ideas. His schooling was mainly in France, at the *lycée* of St. Omer. At the age of sixteen he was editing a little paper in Geneva, and a year later, with £50 sterling from his father, he sailed for New York. An emigrant train carried him to southern California when Los Angeles was hardly a town. Being ready for anything he worked as farm hand, cowboy, and hauler. As an intending settler he built his own house. All the physical conditions were rough and enjoyable; it was the human obstacles that proved to be insuperable. A quite grotesque animosity was the lot of this friendly and hardworking young Englishman. Lying testimony in the court did him out of his quarter-section. At the end of seven years he gave up and had a brief spell of reporting in San Francisco.

The next stage made a startling contrast. His knowledge of French was an asset. He went to Paris and was soon writing editorials with energy and a wide range. His gifts were discovered by Harmsworth, the future Lord Northcliffe, then on his first ascent to power and needing an organizer for the Continental *Daily Mail*. Angell accepted the job and held it with notable success for ten years. No two men could have been farther apart in conviction and aim; yet the personal association was good to the last, and meanwhile the governing purpose of Norman Angell's life was taking shape.

The violent racial hates he had known in California made him reflect upon the roots of international conflict. In France the raging passions aroused by the Dreyfus affair drove home the lesson. The climate between Germany and England was rapidly changing for the worse. This student of affairs at the center recognized all the forces that were making toward a European disaster, and in 1910 "The Great Illusion" was published, after a trial venture with a pamphlet. The famous book was a compact masterpiece of exposition, logic, and prophecy. It proclaimed that the powers were rushing to the abyss. Their fatal course might be stayed, but only if the governments and other makers of policy took heed in time, acknowledged the iron facts, and threw away the superstitions by which the nations were being destroyed. Should war be allowed to come again, the warning rang, victors and vanquished must suffer alike: the European system would be overturned, indemnities could not be collected: the writing on the wall was repudiation. "The Great Illusion" was translated into a score of languages, the sales ran into millions, a debate was opened that spanned the globe.

The author's name—an effective shortening of his patronymic—was soon universally known, but by an ironic perversity for which there is no parallel in the annals of political controversy, it was attached to a mythical soothsayer who was alleged to have announced that great wars had become impossible. During forty years of protest Norman Angell wrote hundreds of letters underlining the truth that what he had written was the precise opposite. All efforts were unavailing; the idiotic blunder is still being repeated, even by would-be serious writers. Hence Norman Angell is now disposed to quote Charles Darwin and say that he must have been a very poor explainer. That, of course, is not so; no man could be more lucid. All we can say is that the libel is unique and inexplicable.

Norman Angell is now within hail of fourscore. He can look back upon a half-century of public work inspired by devotion to a single cause: the salvation of mankind from a third global conflict which would bring the final overthrow of Europe as we know it and the end of Western civilization. His opponents assert that in demanding a policy of realistic cooperation between the "free" powers he has identified himself with a fundamental blunder. That is, he has assumed that peoples and governments are capable of being convinced by reason and experience or by arguments based upon vital interest. He replies that

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no publicist of the age could have a sharper or more terrifying awareness than he has of the irrational forces now ruling the world and blackening the future. He knows that for himself there was no other course possible than the one to which his mind and energies are dedicated. Upon the essentials of organic peace he has written and spoken untiringly. His coworkers are found in every land. In England after the First War he became a valued counselor of the Labor Party, fought four elections, and endured rather than enjoyed two years in Parliament. He is given to wondering whether, for a complete internationalist, this turn to the left was right. He notes with a touch of good-humored irony that when, for a very simple reason, he accepted a knighthood from Ramsay MacDonald, he received many more congratulations than on the occasion of the Nobel peace award.

In these present hours of crisis, amid conditions more threatening to the world order than ever before, it is plainly impossible for anyone to estimate, in terms of positive result, the life-effort of a creative social and political thinker. Here for us, however, is the personal chronicle of a life and character that shine out in the murk of our distressful day. It is throughout candid and humane, written with sustained animation. And I do not doubt that the sensitive reader will feel that it reflects the thoughts and affections of a happy man, a spirit deeply fulfilled.

S. K. RATCLIFFE

Dr. Hayes on Spain

THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. Sheed and Ward. $2.75.

THE latest contribution by Dr. Hayes to the Viva Franco school of history is an expanded version of lectures he delivered last year at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. Despite the fact that it is a slender little book in more ways than one, it contains elements of truth which are sometimes overlooked. Spain, as the author points out, is a poor country and is fated to remain so, not because of the indolence of Spaniards—they are an industrious and sober people—but because of its deficiency in natural resources. Though there are vast treasures in Spanish cathedrals and monasteries, the Catholic church in Spain is also poor. Spain's record as a colonizer is not so bad as it has been painted by such historians as Prescott; in some respects it was better than England's.

Even in dealing with matters of background Dr. Hayes's prejudices are apparent, but if he had confined himself to giving background information his book would have served a useful purpose. Far too many people holding strong convictions about Spain appear to have confined their reading to the period since 1936, or at most go back to the fall of the monarchy in 1931. Dr. Hayes's aim is to convince Americans that the Franco regime is not really fascist, that it helped us during the war, and that now it should be brought into the North Atlantic Pact whether the British and French like it or not. For the moment the Pentagon is more concerned with arming Germany, and until that issue is disposed of, Franco will apparently have to wait.

However, the absence of Franco from an alliance that is intended to save the Atlantic democracies from totalitarianism has not dismayed the Pentagon, and it is rushing its preparations to arm Franco in exchange for bases; if all goes according to Dr. Hayes's wishes the United States should soon be able to welcome Franco into the North Atlantic Pact and the United Nations as well. Thanks to Mr. Acheson's representatives, in fact, the General Assembly has already repealed the resolution that barred the Franco regime from organizations affiliated with the United Nations and asked member nations to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid.

Most advocates of aid for Franco either profess to be mere generals or admirals, knowing nothing about foreign policy but much about the value of airfields in Castile, or like President Truman keep on saying they don't like Franco while doing what Franco wants. No person who values the good name of the United States will approve of such an attitude, though it is possible to understand it and even to respect those who hold it. Dr. Hayes, however, is a champion of Franco à outrance. To say that he is an apologist would be to understate the case. According to Dr. Hayes, Franco is a fine man, and the Spanish civil war was a struggle, not

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between communism and fascism, but between Communists and "anti-Communists," and was "a prelude not so much to the Second World War as to the subsequent 'cold war' and the struggle in Korea."

Two examples of Dr. Hayes's use of historical method, which he presumably passed on to his students at Columbia University, must suffice. The first concerns the composition of the forces supporting the Nationalists at the start of the civil war: after a fairly accurate account of the moderate Republicans, Requetes, and so on we come to the last of the list: "In addition, there was a new semi-fascist group, the Falange, headed by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former general and dictator, and recruited chiefly from youthful ultra-patriots impatient alike with monarchy and with republic." This is the closest Dr. Hayes comes to admitting that there were any fascist elements among Franco's supporters, and he does not refer to Franco's decree of April 14, 1937, making the twenty-six points of the Falange the official program of his regime, still less to the fact that this decree has not been repealed. If Dr. Hayes wants to know whether this was just a "semi-fascist" group, perhaps he will accept evidence from me: on more than a dozen occasions between 1939 and 1941, I, an American newspaper correspondent, was forced by Franco's police to give the fascist salute.

The second example of Dr. Hayes's methods concerns the "sinister propaganda of Moscow and international communism," which "tirelessly repeated the most blatant lies about Spain's fueling of German U-boats. . . ." It so happens that the State Department White Paper on Spain reproduces a report from the Nazi embassy in Spain in which a Nazi official stated that he had been urging the Franco government to permit the refueling of Nazi destroyers, using as his main argument the fact that the Franco government was already permitting the refueling of submarines. What does Dr. Hayes say about that? Well, he does not mention this official report, but he dismisses all the documents in the collection as "a tendentious 'white paper,'" which was "basically dishonest."

Perhaps a special word should be said about the use of quotation marks as part of the technique of innuendo which is constantly employed by Dr. Hayes and his school. It might seem that to call a collection of Nazi documents "tendentious" would be enough. Are the inverted commas intended to mean that it was not a White Paper, or even that it did not exist at all? To take another example, Dr. Hayes quotes from an article by Robert Bendiner and says it appeared in the "liberal" *Nation*. This means presumably that *The Nation*, while it professes to be a liberal publication, is not any such thing, and the implication is meant to be sinister.

Indeed, Dr. Hayes's use of innuendo deserves a special article. Space does not permit republication of a remarkable passage which manages to connect Alger Hiss, Mr. Acheson, and the Yalta conference with the adoption at the San Francisco conference of the resolution barring Spain from the United Nations as long as Franco remained in power. One sentence must suffice: "There was also a new, non-career Under Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, who was a close personal friend of Alger Hiss and had the reputation at the time of being especially conciliatory toward Russia and hostile to 'Franco Spain.'"

Dr. Hayes's "Select Bibliography"—the habit is catching—lists under the heading "Anti-Franco Criticism and Propaganda" the excellent book on Spain by Emmet J. Hughes, which is written from a Catholic point of view and which condemns the Franco regime with bell, book, and candle. Mr. Hughes was a protégé of Dr. Hayes and worked under him throughout their stay in Madrid; it is good to be reminded that "liberals" are not the only people who refuse to accept Dr. Hayes's prejudices and innuendoes.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

More Than One Way

FOUR THOUSAND MILLION MOUTHS. Scientific Humanism and the Shadow of World Hunger. Edited by F. Le Gros Clark and N. W. Pirie. Oxford University Press. $3.

A CALM approach to problems of population and food resources is unusual in the literature turned out on these subjects. Axes have to be ground, points scored, facts forced to fit national or religious prejudices or economic theories. Writers set out to deal objectively with "food and population" only to find themselves emotionally involved in "hunger and sex," and there are always politicians, priests, and defenders of the taxpayer's pocket only too ready to further the confusion. Even the disinterested rarely see that the problem can be tackled from both ends. One school puts all its faith in the synthesis of proteins, the transforming of plankton, the more equable sharing of the planet's resources, and is sure that population limitation is impossible, foolish, and unnecessary. The other school, alarmed by the fact that the world's population is increasing by about twenty-eight million a year, warns that if we do not arrest it rapidly, even to the extent of withholding penicillin—from races other than our own—we are all headed for extinction by self-strangulation.

Into this murky emotionalism a group of British scientists have dropped a little book so honest and sensible, so full of solutions which mean hard work but are deduced from scientific facts, and so lacking in appeals to fear, greed, and prudery, that it is unlikely to be paid the slightest attention.

In the first chapter they present the problem: "Within the lifetime of some of our children the world's population may be expected to reach 4,000 millions. It stands at present at about 2,300 millions. . . . How shall we work the miracle of feeding the 4,000 millions?" Then follow chapters on soil conservation, the use of manure, genetics and food, improvement of pigs, milk supply and crops, the use of fish, the processing of food, and the circumvention of waste.

Each contributor is distinguished in his own field, and all show a familiarity with what is being done in their fields in the rest of the world. They also have a refreshing ability to write simply, though no amount of good writing can make such subjects easy going for the general reader.

In the last essay it is remarked that "the world's population problem has been largely created by the uneven application of science; the solution depends on whether the farmer and the biochemist can restore that uneasy balance between food and population which the engineer and the doctor have

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upset." Noting that science has removed the greatest check on population growth —disease—the author concludes that "it falls to the biochemist not only to improve the food supply but also to improve contraceptive technique."

The kind of detachment which makes it possible for one contributor to write that "the development of contraception permits some dissociation of the birth rate from the moral code" will give a vested interest in the neglect of this book to those who would rather we all perished than permit any such dissociation. The rest of us should make efforts to see that it is read and studied.

BARBARA CADBURY

Epic in Technicolor

SPARTACUS. By Howard Fast. Published by the Author. $3.

MR. FAST'S new novel was presumably rejected by a sufficient number of publishers to convince him that it would be necessary to publish it himself. This raises several interesting questions as to the responsibility of commercial publishers to bring out books by previously successful authors whose political opinions, as expressed beyond the confines of their books, are distasteful to most Americans; for Mr. Fast's latest novel contains no ideas that could not be wholeheartedly accepted by all men of good-will, and it exhibits no diminution of the special talents that have in the past won him substantial audiences and royalties. Apparently, therefore, the publishers who rejected "Spartacus" decided to forgo the substantial profits that might very well have been theirs in order not to have to defend the inclusion on their list of an author closely associated with the Communist Party.

As for the book itself, it tells of the slave revolt against the dying Roman republic led by the remarkable Spartacus, who has already been celebrated from a somewhat different angle by Arthur Koestler in his early novel "The Gladiators." Mr. Fast has chosen to recount the tale in a curious series of parenthetical reminiscences which zigzag backward and forward in time, perhaps because he hoped in this way to raise the curtain from the clouded past as Robert Graves has done, and to show us a fragment of revolutionary history as it was experienced not only by its participants but by those members of the ruling class who were only peripherally affected by it.

The result, however, is that the impact of the story is diffused and scattered, and it is to be doubted that readers will carry away a coherent memory of the sequence of events that led to Spartacus and the slaves becoming masters for a time of all southern Italy. What they will remember with some vividness is Mr. Fast's description of crucified slaves along the Roman highways, of gladiatorial combat, of pitched battles against the Roman legions.

Mr. Fast's conception of history is not really much different from that of Cecil B. DeMille. His technicolor characters are determinedly banal, stubbornly refusing to speak in any other accents than those we have come to expect from the heroes and heroines of the movie epics. He has provided Spartacus with a lovely and loyal wife named Varinia, and as if to make sure that we will not miss the point, he has contrasted their splendid fidelity with the homosexual carryings on of the degenerate members of the master class. The prose style of "Spartacus" is congruous with the delineation of the characters.

There is an epilogue, in which Mr. Fast thanks the anonymous contributors who have made possible the publication of the book. The last sentence reads as follows: "He hopes that for some future edition, at a time when it would not subject them to danger and reprisal, to be able to name these people to extend personal thanks to each in turn."

One can only wonder what will be the reaction of readers in the Soviet Union, where Mr. Fast seems now to be regarded as America's greatest living writer, to the translation of this celebration of a great slave laborers' revolt.

HARVEY SWADOS

Books in Brief

THE LETTERS OF PRIVATE WHEELER. Edited by B. H. Liddell Hart. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75. This is a real discovery: the letters of an extraordinarily articulate English soldier who fought under Wellington in Spain and at Waterloo. Particularly fascinating is Wheeler's description of the

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A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. By E. E. Schattschneider, Victor Jones, and Stephen K. Bailey. William Sloane Associates. $1.50. Three Wesleyan professors have produced the most useful handbook for the study of politics. Labor unions, League of Women Voters, and citizens anxious to understand the operation of government will find it indispensable. In ten brief chapters, annotated and illustrated by pages reproduced from innumerable references, the authors have provided techniques to enable any citizen to find out the facts about public affairs. With skilfully selected examples the reader is shown "how to" read a newspaper, a budget, a statute, a judicial decision, and how to study a pressure group, a federal government agency or department, the record of a Congressman, or the operation of a city government. Throughout, the authors demonstrate "that the task of knowing about public affairs is infinitely simpler than is generally made out."

THE VICTORIAN TEMPER. By Jerome Hamilton Buckley. Harvard. $4.50. After an interesting beginning, in which some of the conflicting opinions about the period are reviewed and the numerous little-known English poems inspired by Goethe's "Faust" are surveyed, Professor Buckley's discussion of Victorian culture loses its sense of direction. It is full of names, dates, quotations, and allusions, but it suffers fatally from the lack of any apparent principle of organization. In his preface the author offers his work as a study of the "moral aesthetic," but it attempts to be too many other things besides. As a result, it boils down to a series of discussions set end to end for no clear purpose. It is impressive only in its scope. The author's intention seems to have been descriptive rather than definitive, and his production opens to serious question the value of literary "surveys" intended to give their readers a knowledge of literature while sparing them an experience of it. It could not have been Professor Buckley's intention to write a textbook, for he makes no attempt to proportion his discussion adequately. He could hardly have meant to give students a clear picture of Victorian culture by treating W. H. Mallock in greater detail than George Eliot, and devoting as much attention to Bailey as to Browning.

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Films

MANNY FARBER

ALONGSIDE "Boots Malone," a race-park drama executed in a relaxed and mobile fashion, most of the current films appear to be moving on club feet. The story in capsule form shows a track-struck rich kid being adopted by a jaded jockey's agent, put through an intensive training, and turned into an expert bug-boy. The necessary problems are provided along the way by a quiet, matter-of-fact, grim syndicate that muscles the agent, who is for a hero surprisingly timorous; also there is a snobbish mother who probably learned her acting trade at the rodeo—she practically throws her eyebrows off her face. It is fashionable these days to show corruption in the United States; so the story has all but one of the jockeys, trainers, and so on merrily fenagling with horses and mutuel prices. All this corruption is probably exaggerated but treated with remarkable plausibility: the techniques and documentation obviously derive from a thoroughgoing knowledge of the sport of kings and bookies. The only possible moral is that horse-racing is a fascinating sport but don't place too much confidence in your scratch sheet.

There has been so much blowing on what is stale in this movie and what is wonderful—paddock lingo and lore—that I won't swell its volume, except to suggest that kid athletes are not likely to learn their profession via the ABC instruction meted out by the agent to his apprentice rider. I suspect that if basketball coaches told the rookie players to dribble in zigzags, keep their eyes on the basket, or imparted any other kindergarten knowledge, there would be an outbreak of assassinations in American athletics. Ninety-nine per cent of American athletes learn their trade in their own way, and I see no reason why jockeys should depart from the norm. Such instruction ("Cock your knees, grab a handful of mane . . .") is there to please the critics who like educational movies and the chalk-sniffers who want to peep into the bowels of their favorite sport. As for the authentic racing talk ("fourteen-

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karat slow-bones," or "You don't make a claim on a one-horse owner"), quite a bit of it is sensitive, accurate, and illuminating. I remember with delight a race-track scrounger chortling with glee and using his winning mutuel tickets as blinkers, and the stark sentences: "All horses respect is force. They are mere brutes who have had all the intelligence bred out of them." And the entire handling of a fat, rich "win-crazy" owner is one of the most accurate examples of greed that I have seen this year. But a good deal of the fancy talk is contrived, and it hangs between people like tiny, misshapen dirigibles.

Milton Holmes, a movie specialist who writes only horse epics, is a born story-teller even if his stuff runs to pulp. His script treats the actuality of working for a living and does it without those short cuts that chop current movies into static fragments. The kid is shown learning how to ride on back-to-back chairs, a bale of hay, a chalk drawing, and finally race horses; this variety of mounts is obviously a gimmick for avoiding monotony, but it makes for a genuine movie atmosphere in which you see figures involved with racing and nothing else from dawn to midnight. This type of continuous and untightened narration gives actors room for small natural movements which never seem to get into a movie like "Detective Story," where close perspectives and absence of action force the actors into slightly hysterical business with eyes, lips, and hands. Holden, as the tarnished agent, is a dour sort who usually muffs the climactic scenes that demand big emotion (the pocket-picking in the beginning), but he is masterful in these realistic stretches—doing some relaxed coaching in the starting gate or galloping along with the boy telling him how to whip his mount (the best working shots I've seen in recent films). Holmes knows and likes the sights of a race track well enough to waste footage on the trip to the diner, motel life near the track, and the unrelated wanderings of a racing troupe stuck on the highway. This last scene, with its credible terrain and each shot connected into a line of actions that lead easily and logically from one thing to another, seems rather wonderful when compared to any of the vulgar settings and crazily viewed scenes of such over-touted masterpieces as "Streetcar" and "A Place in the Sun." "Boots Malone" is no world-beater, but it does show professional men actually working; the surface of their lives is almost real; and thanks to Holden, the story tells you a good deal about the grace, recessiveness, and quiet discernments of a moderately gifted man going nowhere.

A word or two further about the acting. However he does it, Holden seems in constant motion standing still; his posture, coloring, and disinterested technique are so perfectly adjusted to a natural setting that he appears to be a worn, moving part of the air currents in a scene. Basil Ruysdael's kindly trainer is so full of lofty spiritual feeling and the visual qualities of a daguerreotype that he could be a farmer who wandered off the set of "Tolable David" into this picture of corruption at the tracks. The rich kid, done in a controlled, over-trained Broadway style by Johnny Stewart, is just this side of revolting.

Also recommended: "Five Fingers," "The Captive City," "Los Olvidados."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

RCA VICTOR'S second group of LP records with dubbings of recordings by famous singers of the past again includes one devoted entirely to Caruso's performances. Most of them offer nothing that was not already offered, in better music, by the performances on the first record; but two—the 1908 *Ah, sì, ben mio* and 1906 *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore"—are interesting as fine examples of Caruso's singing in the early years when his voice was light in color (the high C's of *Di quella pira* come out as B's).

An entire record also is devoted to Ponselle, and rightly, since hers was one of the most extraordinarily beautiful voices ever heard at the Metropolitan. Its voluminously sumptuous beauty is reproduced perfectly by the 1926 electrical recordings of two arias from "La Vestale," but with alteration of its color by the dubbings from noisy-surfaced shellac pressings of the 1924 acoustic recordings of the Willow Song and *Ave Maria* from "Otello." I hear nothing in a 1924 "Home, Sweet Home" (with the voice altered in color) and a 1936 Schubert "Ave Maria" (with an offensive violin obbligato) that compelled their inclusion in place of, say, the acoustically recorded performances of arias from "Ernani" and "La Forza del Destino," which are two of the best.

The record devoted to McCormack offers his 1910 performances of arias from "L'Elisir d'Amore" and "Lucia"—superb examples of the flawless taste with which he used his beautiful voice in Italian opera. But for the rest there are Wagner's "Träume" and *O König* from "Tristan," recorded in the thirties—the voice rough, the singing undistinguished; and instead of reissuing his

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performances of Schubert and Wolf, Victor wastes space on the trashy songs on which he wasted his talent.

Hempel, to whom an entire record might have been devoted, doesn't, in Victor's estimation, rate even a place on the omnibus record Stars of the Golden Age. And though Battistini, Melba, and Destinn are included this time, Battistini's powers in quiet sustained melody are not employed in a duet from "Ernani" and Melba is not impressive in *Voi che sapete* from "Figaro." Also, what Galli-Curci did to *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata" in 1919 and her slithering about in "Song of India" in 1930 should have been kept hidden; Scotti's *L'Onore!* from "Falstaff" is undistinguished; Bori's voice had become unpleasantly edged by 1928 when she recorded *Un bel di* from "Madama Butterfly"; and Tetrazzini is not at her most impressive in Veracini's simple "Pastoral." On the other hand the record offers an outstanding Caruso performance, his 1906 *M'appari* from "Marta," with Destinn's *Suicidio!* from "La Gioconda," Homer's *Mon coeur* from "Samson et Dalila," and Ruffo's 1920 *Pari siamo* from "Rigoletto."

On the record Famous Duets are several beautiful performances. Alma Gluck's lovely voice is heard with Caruso's in *Libiamo* from Act 1 of "La Traviata"; Bori and McCormack are heard in a 1914 *Parigi, o cara* from Act 3; the style and taste of Schipa enable one to endure Galli-Curci in a duet from "La Sonnambula"; Gigli sings with beautiful quiet lyricism in the second part of a duet from "Lucia" with Pinza, after sobbing through the first part; Martinelli is impressive in a 1917 duet from "William Tell" with Journet; Farrar's voice is lovely in the Barcarolle from "The Tales of Hoffmann" with Scotti (but I would have preferred their *Là ci darem la mano* from "Don Giovanni"). Space also is given to the Farrar-Caruso duet from "Madama Butterfly" that would better have been given to, say, the Hempel-Amato duet from "La Traviata" or the Gadski-Amato duet from "Il Trovatore."

Except for Gigli's *Celeste Aida* the record Aida Yesterday offers excellent performances: Rethberg's *Ritorna vincitor* (cut), the Temple scene with Pinza and Martinelli (his voice tight and enveloped in buzzing distortion), Ponselle's 1923 *O patria mia* (her voice altered in color by the dubbing from a shellac record which reproduces the performance a half-tone sharp), the Gadski-Amato *Su, dunque!*, the 1924 Ponselle-Martinelli *Pur ti riveggo* (her voice altered in color, the performance reproduced a half-tone sharp), the Homer-Caruso *Già i sacerdoti.*

Decca's second group of Lotte Lehmann's Parlophone recordings offers *Porgi amor* (in German) from "Figaro," which begins well but gets breathless and comes off the record a little dim; *Wie nahte mir der Schlummer* from "Der Freischütz," beautifully sung, but with some constricted and shrill high notes; an aria from Strauss's "Arabella," also beautifully sung; *So sei er gut* from "Der Rosenkavalier," which is a pale copy of the performance in the great Victor set; and three passages from "Die Fledermaus"—*Mein Herr, was dächten Sie*, which is enchanting, the Czardas, in which there are again constricted and shrill high notes, and the Finale of Act 2 with Tauber, Branzell, and others. The loud passages of "Die Fledermaus" suffer from buzzing distortion.

To turn now to songs, and specifically to the celebrated HMV recording of Aksel Schiotz's performance of Schubert's "Die schöne Müllerin," which has at last been issued here dubbed onto an LP record in Victor's Treasury series: Schiotz's singing turns out to be agreeable to the ear, his phrasing musically flawless; and wondering why nevertheless the performances of the songs leave me unmoved and disappointed, I think I find the reason to be their lack of vitality and intensity even in the degree demanded by these songs. I find this deficiency also in Gerald Moore's discreet playing of the piano parts; and it is made worse by the lack of brightness and power in the recorded sound.

CONTRIBUTORS

S. K. RATCLIFFE is a distinguished British journalist and lecturer.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain," is the United Nations correspondent of the New York *Times*.

BARBARA CADBURY has made a special study of problems of population and birth control.

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Letters to the Editors

Endocrinological Error?

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed reading The Malthusian Scarecrow in the February 16 issue of your excellent magazine. However, there is one statement in the article which merits clarification from the endocrinological point of view. I refer to the following: "Fecundation in women is closely related to the amount of estrogen produced in the system. Now since the liver controls the amount of estrogen which is put into the blood stream, anything that impairs the natural functioning of the liver would affect fertility. Protein deficiencies lead to cirrhosis and fatty degeneration of the liver, which in turn cause the release of more estrogen and an increase in reproductive capacity. Sexual appetite, a determinant of fertility, also depends on the amount of estrogen in the system."

Most endocrinologists agree that the amount of estrogen in the body plays only a minor role in stimulating the libido and that too much estrogen suppresses ovulation through the pituitary gland, and therefore would increase the percentage of sterile females, an opinion which is just the opposite of Mr. de Castro's.

Los Angeles MONTE SALVIN

Exchange Scholarships

Dear Sirs: Never before in history have countries had so many facilities for getting to know and understand each other as today; and yet one half of the world does not know or has only superficial ideas as to how the other half lives and what it thinks. It may be possible to find reasons for this condition in the case of countries which differ in language or culture or tradition, but it is difficult to explain it in respect to America and Britain.

Apart from ordinary travel—which may be enjoyable though not profoundly instructive—Anglo-American exchanges have been practiced for many years, although they have been confined mainly to the academic, scientific, and industrial fields. Since the war the valuable interchange of teachers has been initiated, as well as the Fulbright and Smith-Mundt plans. All these measures are to be greatly applauded, but none of them appear to recognize sufficiently the social revolution which the world is undergoing, or the resulting emergence of the common man. The common man has been somewhat ignored or treated in Cinderella-fashion in the Anglo-American exchanges.

I founded, therefore, in 1947 Transatlantic Foundation for the purpose of arranging Anglo-American exchanges of young people in spheres which were not covered by governmental or other agencies and which were to include the common man. In this connection it seemed well to remember that those of academic or similar status need not necessarily have, while people in other occupations may possibly have, wide liberal interests, social enthusiasm, and the urge and ability to spread the gospel of Anglo-American understanding.

At the suggestion of the then general secretary of the Workers' Education Association, Mr. Ernest Green, I approached Ruskin College, which occupies probably a unique position in the two countries as a workers' college. Founded by the American historian Charles Beard, it serves, *par excellence*, adult education in its broadest sense, with the added advantage of being located at Oxford. Fortunately, it had a few vacant places which enabled me to fix up five scholarships, based on one year's free board and study which I decided to donate for the benefit of American trade-unionists. I took this decision to fill a blank in the exchange field, although I have no connection with labor. An American committee was constituted by Mr. Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, which included representatives from the Institute of International Education, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Labor and Workers' Educational Services, and industrial employers. Simultaneously, Transatlantic Foundation set up on the British side an advisory council comprising a political economist, the editor of the *Economist*, the rector of Lincoln College, and representatives of the British Trades Union Congress, Workers' Education Association, Ruskin College, and Poinby Hall.

Working through trade-union machinery, the American committee chose, among two hundred applicants, five suitable persons. Thus a start was made to put the idea of Transatlantic Foundation into action. The five first American scholars found their experience enormously stimulating and valuable, while the British college profited, in turn, from the presence of Americans in its midst. The success of this beginning was undoubted, and we felt justified in trying to broaden the basis of the plan. We therefore approached the Trades Union Congress Educational Trust and also a fund of which the late Ernest Bevin was a trustee. Both organizations agreed to fall into line and to assume the responsibility for four scholarships, which they carried for some years. The T. U. C. is still carrying two and the writer one at present. In addition to Ruskin College, scholarships have now also been made available to young Americans at Harlech and Fircroft Colleges, which are likewise prominent in the field of adult education. Since the beginning, the American scholars have been drawn from all parts of the Union and from such varying occupations as business agent, telephone operator, union organizer, farmer, linotype operator, worker's counselor, automobile worker, educator, journalist, research worker, truck driver, seaman, librarian. Over twenty have returned to their own country, much enriched by the knowledge which they gained during their stay in Britain and immensely broadened in their outlook.

Since Transatlantic Foundation aims at exchanges, the reader may desire to know the American side of the plan. Unfortunately, this has not developed to any measurable extent. At the present moment there are only four young people from Britain who are enjoying scholarships granted to them at Antioch, Sarah Lawrence, and two Midwestern girls' colleges. So it is evident that something has to be done to make the plan truly reciprocal. It is not for us in Britain to say whether the initiative should come from independent individuals, from organizations such as the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., or from local unions. The outlook on exchanges of some American labor leaders is so well known that it would be indeed surprising if there were further delay. Not only all associated on both sides of the Atlantic with Transatlantic Foundation but also many young people in Britain are eagerly awaiting offers of scholarships and the chance of visiting the United States.

It will, I hope, be realized that the kind of education which Transatlantic Foundation envisages is not vocational

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or technical in any narrow sense. We seek to deal with people who, having reached a measure of maturity in the field, factory, workshop, or elsewhere, crave for further education, particularly those Americans who are keen to learn about conditions in Britain—and vice versa. . . . In the United States emphasis in workers' education is perhaps laid on "provide the tools for the job"; that is, preparing the student for growing into an effective trade-union leader and instructing him in labor legislation and collective-bargaining techniques. These things are not ignored in Britain, although the main aim may be to provide a liberal education in the humanities and to equip the student for accepting social responsibility within the community. An attempt is made to teach him not what, but rather how, to think.

In these grave disturbed times each country depends largely on its leaders, not merely in the political but also in the labor field, on men not only of character, personality, and moral stature, but also of trained intellect and wide experience. Transatlantic Foundation hopes that it may be allowed to play its own small part and, at the same time, to contribute toward Anglo-American friendship.

SIR ROBERT MAYER
London, England

[*Any inquiries concerning Transatlantic Foundation should be addressed either to Transatlantic Foundation, 3, Lombard Street, E. C. 3, London, England, or to Harold Taylor, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Wittfogel vs. . . .

Dear Sirs: By restricting my answer to Lattimore to 300 words you force me to reduce to a few sentences the discussion of a problem that is politically immeasurably more important than the Lysenko-Mendel issue. I shall therefore not comment on Lattimore's lapse of memory regarding my political past. A man who cannot remember his visit to the President of the United States can hardly be expected to recall his talks with me.

This much, however, for the record:

1. In September, 1935, Lattimore wrote Frederick V. Field: ". . . I have just been traveling with Wittfogel, who, as you probably know and I dimly suspect, is a bit of a heretic from either the Stalinist or the Trotskyist point of view, when it comes to the bourgeois feudal controversy over the nature of Chinese society." Clearly Lattimore knew my scientific *and my political* position then.

2. Lattimore's attempt to laugh off the political significance of words like "feudal" and "feudal survivals" in describing Asiatic societies comes oddly from one who himself emphasized the role they play in official Soviet ideology. In March, 1944, in *Pacific Affairs* Lattimore lists Stalin's concept of "feudal survivals" as among the "paramount Communist theses" that "a Communist writer has . . . to maintain" when dealing with China; and he notes that "the social data are somewhat obscured by loosely used terms like 'semi-feudal' and 'feudal survivals'." In the late 1940's and without explanation Lattimore shifted from his view of the "bureaucratic" nature of Chinese society to the "feudal" position required of scientists of the U. S. S. R.

At times the "feudal" terminology is used in good faith but naively for civilizations ruled by a managerial bureaucracy. For Japan it is generally accepted as correct. Lattimore, who despite his pro-Soviet leanings once upheld the "bureaucratic" theory, which seemed only slightly heretical and which was scientifically so productive, can hardly plead ignorance on these points now.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL,
Professor of Chinese History, University of Washington; Director, Chinese History Project, University of Washington and Columbia University
New York

. . . Lattimore

Dear Sirs: I thank the editors of *The Nation* for giving me the opportunity to comment on Dr. Wittfogel's letter. I have no comment to make other than to point out that this kind of tortured polemic by Wittfogel was accepted by the McCarran committee as "evidence" in a supposedly serious investigation.

OWEN LATTIMORE,
Director Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore

Forgotten Actor?

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation's* review of "Golden Boy" the actor who played the part of the "ham" prizefighter was praised, but his name—Arthur O'Connell—was omitted. This often happens to actors in minor roles, and they take it hard since their bread and butter depend on good notices.

New York PAUL ALLEN

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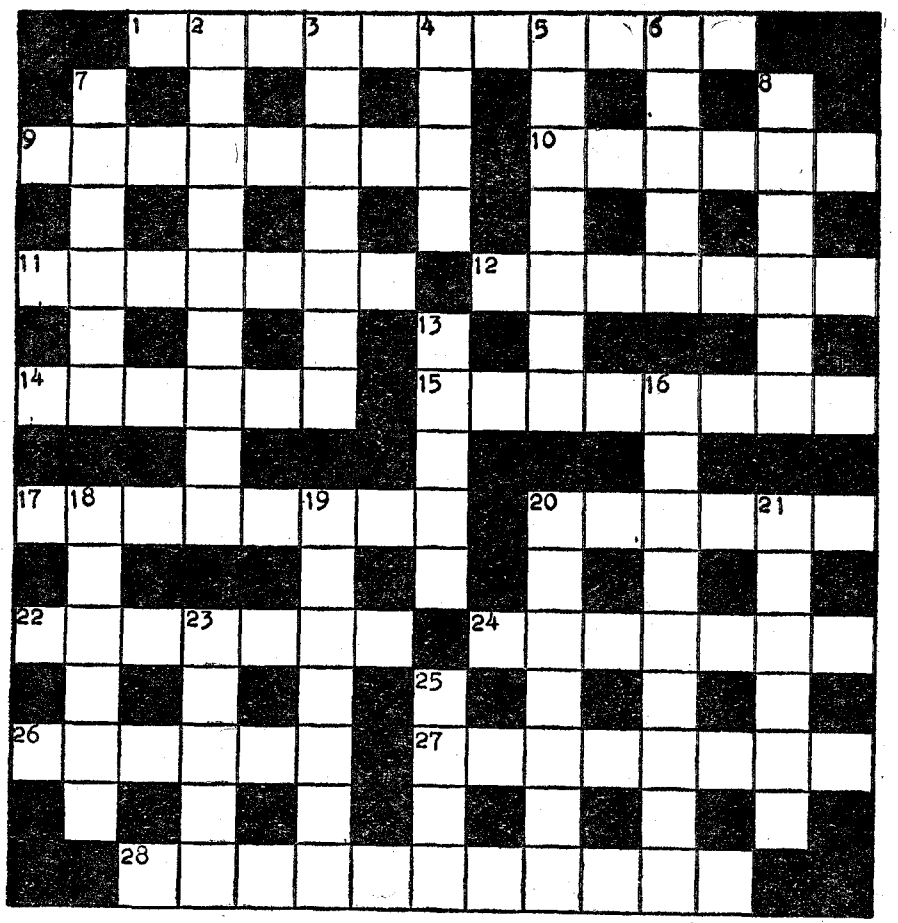
Crossword Puzzle No. 459

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Might it fly over a U-boat, and still be less than perfect? (11)
9 It makes mother hesitate . . . (8)
10 . . . while little brother, understand, might be 23. (6)
11 See 27.
12 A gloomy fellow doesn't rise in his shirt, perhaps. (7)
14 Look at the present form before the past goes up and down. (6)
15 Hid in the wrong piano, like St. Patrick's foes. (8)
17 Such a creature is not all it's cracked up to be. (8)
20 Stations that a tyrant might organize. (6)
22 It certainly isn't the outlook that makes discernment. (7)
24 Spare me this, and more power to you! (7)
26 A habit the rich have of getting things built with it. (6)
27 and 11. Sandburg, perhaps, isn't well and caves in finally. (8, 7)
28 Bit by an adder? (Certainly not an original idea!) (11)

DOWN

2 and 13. Catholic hang-out? The movement is permitted by it. (9, 5)
3 The place isn't exactly found again between two points. (7)
4 Father William wouldn't let his son have them as a gift! (4)
5 The gal who comes out wears a painful expression in coming out. (7)
6 These birds must stand next to horses first. (5)
7 String along with father if you want a stately mansion. (6)
8 The bar maid? (6)
13 See 2.
16 See 18.
18 and 16. Comes in handy in an oral examination. (6, 9)
19 If you can read this you're probably not so cruel. (7)
20 A bad girl and I get caught between little members of both parties. (7)
21 Skull drill of old, but boring in any case. (6)
23 I won't change it to follow 10 frequently. (2, 3)
25 On the surface, it seems worse than rash! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 458

ACROSS:—1 A FOOL THERE WAS; 10 STARTLE; 11 AVERRED; 12 TERMAGANT; 13 TENON; 14 AT LAST; 16 ENROLLER; 19 SORORITY; 20 HYMNAL; 22 ACHES; 23 ASSUAGING; 25 CUTWORM; 26 AGITATO; 27 DOTS AND DASHES.

DOWN:—2 FLAIR; 4, 3 and 21 THE WAY OF TRANSGRESSORS IS HARD; 5 EXACTING; 6 ELECTRODYNAMICS; 7 ADRENALIN; 8 ASHTRAYS; 9 ODIN; 15 LARGHETTO; 17 RELIGION; 18 STRAW MAN; 22 ARCH; 24 IRATE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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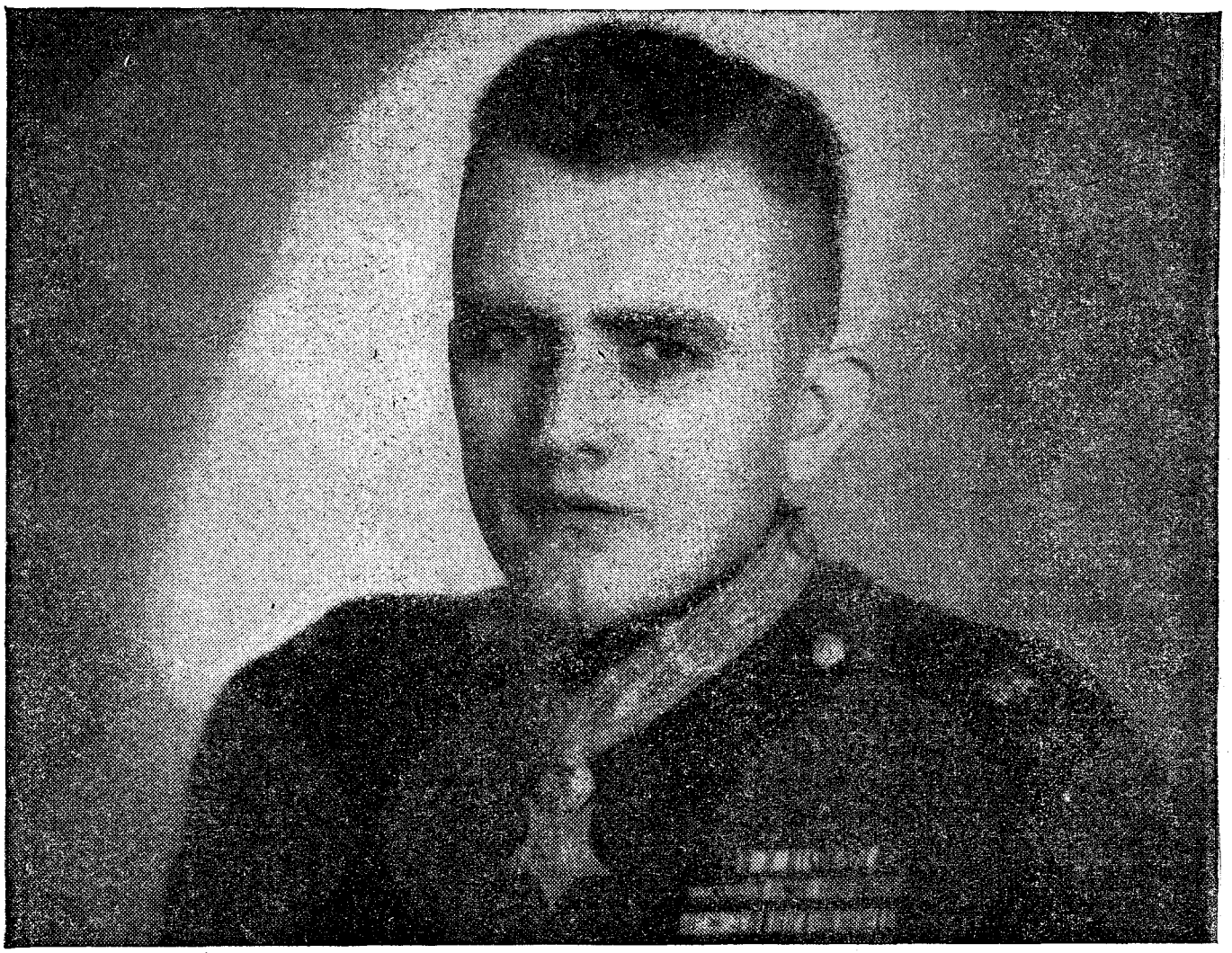
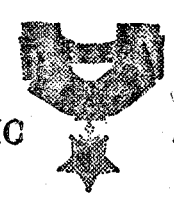


Major Carl L. Sitter, USMC  Medal of Honor

THE HILL WAS STEEP, snow-covered, 600 feet high. Red-held, it cut our lifeline route from Hagan-ri to the sea; it had to be in our hands.

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